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MONEY IN PIONEER IOWA 1838–1865

A casual survey of the money in circulation today reveals only a few varieties, all authorized by the laws of the United States. In addition to the gold, silver, nickel, and copper coins of the United States there are gold and silver certificates, national bank notes, including Federal Reserve Bank notes, United States notes (greenbacks), Federal Reserve notes, and Treasury notes of 1890.¹ With the exception of an occasional counterfeit bill, the person who is offered money in payment of some obligation assumes that the money presented has the value indicated by the particular denomination and pays little attention to the source.

It was not always so. In the days before the Civil War coins of the United States lay in the bank vault and in the merchant's till side by side with coins of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the Spanish-American countries. There were even private coins. Paper money was of many kinds, issued by the Bank of the United States, State banks, free banks, private banks, and ordinary business houses — good, bad, and doubtful as to value. There was scrip issued by cities, towns, townships, and counties. There were county orders and private checks.

It was an age of clever characterizations and money came in for its full share. There were "Benton's mint drops", "bits", and "picayunes"; "red dog", "brindle-pup", "wild cat", and "stump-tailed" currency; "store-pay"; "shinplasters"; and "greenbacks". The ordinary citizen looked upon money — except gold and silver coins,

¹ Gold coins and gold certificates were withdrawn from circulation by the emergency legislation of 1933.

which were scarce—as a highly speculative commodity, which operated somewhat on the principle of a lottery.

In spite of its doubtful status, money was a necessity in Iowa as in all frontier communities. The Iowa pioneers were men of vision, seeing farms and homes, cities and towns, schools and churches, stores and factories where they found only open prairie and river's edge. Some of these things could be supplied by individual effort; others required money for services, materials, and supplies.

Many of the settlers also needed to borrow money to buy their claims and to pay their taxes. Others brought money with them from the East or South in the form of drafts which had to be exchanged for money. Some had bank notes or other forms of paper which must be exchanged for specie.

Before long the pioneers began exchanging farms, commodities, and services. Barter, the primitive method of such exchange, was inadequate from the beginning. As the government began to function, money was needed for the salaries of officials and for taxes. Books and newspapers were published. Money became more and more important in the development of pioneer Iowa, as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and a form of savings.

The use of money requires first of all an agency for its creation — and later a center for its deposit and exchange. Who furnished the money used by the pioneers of Iowa and what was it like? By what agencies was it issued and circulated? The story is long and complicated.

COINS IN USE IN IOWA

Gold and silver coins of various kinds formed the standard money in early Iowa, as in other places. "Hard money" was known as specie and, with minor exceptions, the metal used in these gold and silver coins was approxi-

mately equal in value to the coin, although the rates of bullion to coin varied from time to time.

The coins in use in Iowa were, of course, the same as those in surrounding States and Territories, since coinage and laws relating to coinage were assigned by the Constitution to the Congress of the United States and denied to the States.

According to the coinage acts of 1792 and 1793, the United States coins included cents and half cents in copper; dollars, half dollars, quarters, "dismes", and "half dismes" in silver; and eagles (\$10.00), half eagles, and quarter eagles in gold. The dollar was the unit of value and there was free gold and silver coinage at the ratio of fifteen to one.²

Since the United States could not coin money fast enough to supply the needs of business or could not, for various reasons, keep sufficient coins in circulation, the United States recognized as legal tender certain foreign coins. According to a law of 1793 British and Portuguese gold pieces were accepted at the rate of 27 grains weight for a dollar; French and Spanish gold coins at 27 2/5 grains for a dollar; while Spanish silver dollars (common coins) were accepted on the same basis as American dollars. French crowns circulated at a dollar and ten cents. In 1816 five-franc pieces were listed at ninety-three cents and three mills. The original law provided that after three years all foreign coins except the Spanish silver dollars should cease to be legal tender, but because of the scarcity of American coins, the act providing for the use of foreign coins was extended several times.3 By an act adopted on

² United States Statutes at Large, Vol. I, pp. 248, 249, 299, 300. See also Vol. V, pp. 136-142.

³ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. I, pp. 300, 301, Vol. III, pp. 322, 525, 645, 777, 778; Hepburn's History of Coinage and Curreny in the United States, p. 26.

March 3, 1823, foreign gold coins were made receivable for public lands.⁴

The coinage of twenty-dollar gold pieces and gold dollars was authorized by Congress in 1849. In 1851 the United States began the coinage of three-cent pieces of silver and copper, to facilitate the payment of postage, then three cents. This was made legal tender up to thirty cents.⁵

The use of the Spanish, Mexican, and Spanish-American silver dollars developed a peculiar situation which tended to deprive frontier sections of small coins. The American silver dollars were slightly lighter in weight than the Spanish dollars, but they were accepted in the West Indies on the same terms. Before long enterprising speculators discovered that they could recoin the heavier Spanish dollars into American dollars and export them to the West Indies. As a result both Spanish and American silver dollars tended to disappear from circulation, leaving only worn and abraded Spanish, or Mexican, dollars and fractional pieces of them. To counteract this drain of American dollars from the country, the United States Mint largely suspended the coinage of silver dollars between 1806 and 1834.6

In 1803 France had established a ratio of 15½ to 1 and in 1816 England had made the ratio 16 to 1 for subsidiary silver coins. As a result gold coins were frequently exported to Europe, and the gold coins also tended to disappear from circulation so that much of the currency consisted of French crowns and five-franc pieces and silver coins less than a dollar.

- 4 United States Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 779.
- ⁵ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, pp. 397, 398, 591.
- 6 Hepburn's History of Coinage and Currency in the United States, p. 27.

⁷ Hepburn's History of Coinage and Currency in the United States, pp. 27, 31. A report submitted to the House of Representatives in 1823 stated that the United States had issued gold and silver coins to the amount of more than

Many reports were made on the problem, but it was not until 1834 that the coinage law was revised. The ratio of gold and silver was fixed at approximately 16 to 1. Foreign gold coins were to be received at exchange values depending on weight and fineness. Spanish-American dollars were made legal tender on the same terms as the Spanish dollars, which soon almost disappeared.

In 1837, another attempt was made to equalize the relative values of gold and silver.⁸ The coinage of American silver dollars was resumed. Under the ratio adopted at this time the silver dollar was worth approximately \$1.03 in gold and for this reason silver coins continued to be taken out of circulation.

An act of February 21, 1853, attempted to remedy the loss of minor coins by reducing the weights of half dollars and smaller silver coins. Such minor silver coins were made legal tender for sums not over five dollars. This law also authorized the coinage of three-dollar gold pieces. Silver dollars were left at their former weight and were legal tender for all amounts. The increase in the amount of gold mined after 1849 raised the relative value of the silver dollars four or five per cent and these coins continued to be scarce. Comparatively few were coined—a total of \$2,800,000 from 1834 to 1861.9

The final act in the coinage of the United States previous to the Civil War was the act adopted on February 21, 1857, which repealed all laws making foreign coins legal tender

\$20,000,000, but at that time there was estimated to be in the United States, including foreign coins which were legal tender, about \$16,000,000 — \$1,500,000 less than there had been in 1804.— Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, Vol. VII, pp. 425, 427.

⁸ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, pp. 681, 699, 700, Vol. V, pp. 136-142; Hepburn's History of Coinage and Currency in the United States, pp. 40, 41.

⁹ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. X, pp. 160, 161; Hepburn's History of Coinage and Currency in the United States, pp. 47, 48.

except that Spanish-American fractional silver pieces were to be received at government offices at a reduced rate and then recoined. The coinage of the half-cent was discontinued and the weight of the cent was reduced by half.¹⁰

In 1864 the material in the one-cent piece was changed and a two-cent piece was provided. One-cent pieces were legal tender up to ten cents and two-cent pieces up to twenty cents. A year later a three-cent piece of copper and nickel was authorized and made legal tender up to sixty cents, while the one-cent and two-cent pieces were made legal tender only up to four cents. It was at this time that the motto "In God we trust" was authorized. The nickel was substituted for the half dime or five-cent piece by a law of 1866. Such coins were legal tender up to one dollar.¹¹

One of the peculiarities of fractional currency during the period before the Civil War was the division of silver dollars—usually the Spanish coins—into parts to serve in place of small coins. Since a Spanish dollar was worth eight reals (hence the name "pieces of eight"), it appears that the dollar was usually cut into eight parts, or "bits", each being worth 12½ cents. "Two bits" made twenty-five cents, "four bits" meant fifty cents, and "six bits" meant seventy-five cents. The dollar could be divided into two, four, or eight pieces. A "bit" happened also to have almost the same value as the American "shilling", so that in many places "two shillings" and "two bits" meant the same thing. These terms are still in use in some localities, although the fractional pieces of the dollars have long since disappeared. "A "picayune" was a half real.

¹⁰ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XI, pp. 163, 164.

¹¹ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XIII, pp. 54, 55, 517, 518, Vol. XIV, p. 47.

¹² Mott's An Additional Word List from Pioneer Iowa in the Philological Quarterly, Vol. I, pp. 306, 307.

Previous to 1864, the private coinage of gold was not unusual. The bullion in these coins was worth approximately the amount designated. They were not considered counterfeits at that time, but rather a convenient form for the exchange of gold bullion or gold dust, their actual value depending upon weight and fineness. A law approved on June 8, 1864, made this practice counterfeiting.¹³

In this brief resumé of the coins authorized by the United States, no attempt has been made to discuss the laws regulating the various materials and weights used except as these affected the supply or scarcity of coins.

Most accounts stress the scarcity of money in pioneer Iowa, especially specie money. A story of 1844, for example, tells of the search of a pioneer family for a "shilling" or "bit" to pay the postage on a letter. The neighborhood was canvassed, no one had any coins. One woman was sure she could get the money, for she was even then serving a traveler his dinner. She hoped he would pay her "two bits", but the man, a member of the Iowa legislature, on his way to Iowa City, explained that he did not have any money, either, but would pay it on his way home. The solution of the problem was typical of the tendency to revert to barter, when money is lacking. The mother of the family bethought herself of some bottles of wintergreen essence which stood unused on her closet shelf. The postmaster was also a storekeeper and could sell the wintergreen, so the letter was finally secured.14

A surprisingly large proportion of the coins in circulation in Iowa appear to have been of foreign origin. Hoyt Sherman, a banker, commenting on this condition, recounted that English sovereigns, French twenty-france

¹³ White's Money and Banking, pp. 22, 23; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XIII, pp. 120, 121.

¹⁴ Letts's The Search for a Shilling in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 38-46.

pieces, and Spanish doubloons were foreign gold pieces seen occasionally. In addition to Spanish — and later Mexican — silver dollars, the French five-franc pieces helped to furnish minor currency. The five-franc piece passed for ninety-five cents.¹⁵

Hiram Price in describing the money in Iowa previous to the establishment of the State Bank said: "About the only silver money in circulation in Iowa in those days that could be depended upon as to value were the five-franc pieces [French] and the 12½ and 6¼ cent pieces. The larger of this silver fractional currency was called 'elevenpenny bit' and sometimes 'bits' or 'levies', and the smaller pieces went by the Spanish name of 'picayune.' These francs and bits and picayunes were all foreigners, merely abiding on American soil, and but few of them ever became naturalized citizens, and if ever naturalized were never afterwards known by the same name. These foreigners were not only tolerated on American soil, but actually sought after and courted by all citizens 'to the manner born.' "16

On the other hand, an editor at Bloomington (now Muscatine) wrote in 1842: "Specie, in proportion to the amount of money in circulation, was never more plenty in our little community than at present. We have heard repeated inquiries for good paper in exchange for specie, and understand it is hard to obtain." This, however, was the exception. Specie was usually in demand.

There were several reasons for the general scarcity of coins in the Territorial and early State period of Iowa.

¹⁵ Sherman's Early Banking in Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 3.

¹⁶ Price's The State Bank of Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 268.

¹⁷ Bloomington Herald, January 20, 1842, quoted in the Annals of Iowo (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 125.

There was, until 1849, a scarcity of gold and silver in the United States and because of changes in values, there was, at times, a tendency to export gold and silver coins. As a result, there was no large supply in the United States. Moreover, many Iowa pioneers were poor or in very moderate circumstances, so that they probably had less than their per capita share of gold and silver coins.

There were also certain special conditions which tended to deprive Iowa of specie money. On July 11, 1836, a circular addressed to receivers of public lands forbade, with minor exceptions, the receipt of any money except gold or silver in payment of public lands after August 15th of that year. The effect of this ruling was to drain specie from the territory where public lands were for sale and at this time Iowa was especially interested in land sales. Two years later Congress adopted a resolution which forbade the Secretary of the Treasury to make or continue in force any order "which shall create any difference between the different branches of revenue, as to the money or medium of payment, in which debts or dues, accruing to the United States, may be paid." 18

There was much dispute as to whether this resolution rendered void the "Specie Circular", but it appears that the regulations of the land office continued to restrict the kinds of money received at land sales. A guide book published in 1841, reported that payments at the land sales in Iowa must be: Missouri bank notes of twenty dollars or more; silver and gold coins; United States Treasury notes; and, under certain conditions, Virginia military land scrip.¹⁹

The demand for money - specie or Treasury warrants

¹⁸ Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 54; MacDonald's Jacksonian Democracy (American Nation Series, Vol. XV), pp. 286-291; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 310.

¹⁹ Newhall's Sketches of Iowa, p. 50.

— to buy land was not limited to the actual need for farms. Investment in land was the pioneer equivalent of the stock market. One speculator wrote from Boonesboro, the county seat of Boone County, in July, 1855:

Everybody seems wild with the excitement of entering government lands. "Benton's mint drops" fly freely and fortunes are made, sure and no mistake. Forty per cent interest is the lowest sale this week. I got a quarter section. As soon as lands are secured they are valued at \$3.50 per acre for prairie and \$5.00 for timber a \$300 profit by securing a quarter section is as good for me as for anyone.²⁰

But specie money constituted only a small part of the circulating medium in Iowa before the Civil War. The most common medium of exchange were the bank notes. Up to the organization of the national banks, only two banks in Iowa had been authorized by law to issue paper currency. These were the Miners' Bank of Dubuque and the State Bank of Iowa. Bank notes from other States, however, circulated freely in Iowa. The story of the money issued by these banks is complicated; the financial result in many cases was disastrous.

Bank notes and the privilege of issning bank notes were, it should be noted, relatively more important in pioneer days than at present, because bank credit was then furnished by bank notes instead of by deposits and checks, as at present. For example, a man today may deposit one hundred dollars in a bank, the banker loans it to another man who draws a check to pay a bill. The man who receives the check may in turn write a check and the hundred dollars deposited remains in the bank although many payments are made. Before the Civil War, the bank issued bank notes, which circulated from hand to hand and performed much the same functions as the checks.

20 Brainard's Opening an Iowa County in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 261. Benton's mint drops were gold coins.

NOTES OF THE MINERS' BANK

The only bank incorporated in Iowa from the earliest settlement down to 1858 was the Miners' Bank of Dubuque which received its charter from the Wisconsin Territorial legislature on November 30, 1836. This act was amended and approved by Congress on March 3, 1837. Under the terms of incorporation the maximum capital was to be \$200,000, a large amount for a bank in a frontier town.

The charter permitted the Miners' Bank²¹ to issue bank notes as soon as one-half of the capital stock had been paid in, and of the first \$100,000, at least \$40,000 must be in legal coin. Except for deposits the bank was forbidden to incur indebtedness for more than twice the paid in capital stock. The maximum note issue would thus have been slightly less than \$400,000. No bills could be issued for less than five dollars and after four years the legislature might raise this to ten dollars and after ten years to twenty dollars.

Small notes, indeed, were in disfavor during this period. It was said that small denominations circulated among ordinary people rather than in financial circles and were likely to be kept in circulation longer and thus increased the danger of inflation. It was also claimed that small denominations were more easily counterfeited. At any rate the authorities frowned upon extensive issues of bank notes of small denominations. A Treasury circular of April 6, 1835, ordered all officers receiving public money not to accept bank notes for less than five dollars.²²

There was no special protection in the charter of the Miners' Bank for note holders, no required deposit of cash,

²¹ For a history of the Miners' Bank see Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838, pp. 27-34; United States Statutes at Large, Vol, V, p. 198; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 10-34; Merritt's The Early History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 1-30.

²² Dewey's Financial History of the United States, p. 228.

bonds, or other securities, and no double liability of stockholders. There was not even a requirement that the capital which was paid in must be retained by the bank. In other words, if the \$200,000 capital had been all paid in and notes had been issued for twice that amount, the \$200,000 might then have been loaned out, leaving nothing for the redemption of the notes. Indeed the cashier testified at one hearing that the stockholders paid in forty per cent of their stock, put in their personal notes, and drew out the cash.

The Miners' Bank opened its doors for business on October 31, 1837. Its history was made up of one investigation after another, charges, counter charges, and repeated attempts to repeal the bank's charter. The second legislative investigation, by a joint committee of the Wisconsin Territorial legislature, revealed that of the \$100,000 reported paid in capital, \$40,000 was in the form of certificates for specie deposited in Detroit, \$50,000 in notes of the Jackson County Bank and the Bank of Manchester (both in Michigan), and \$10,000 in specie and other bank notes. value of these notes is indicated by the report of the bank commissioners of Michigan, submitted in April, 1838, in which they listed both the Jackson County Bank and the Bank of Manchester as unworthy of public confidence, both being, it was said, excellent examples of the genus "wild cat", applied to banks.

The notes²³ of the Miners' Bank were the usual large bank note size, embellished with various pictures. Five dollar bills bore the picture of a railroad train — possibly based on John Plumbe's idea of a railroad to the Pacific. The signatures of the officials were written in by hand and in the case of post notes the denomination and the date might also be left blank until the note was issued.

²³ A collection of some of the notes of the Miners' Bank has been preserved in the Library of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The notes were of two kinds—demand notes, payable on presentation and, ordinarily, in specie; and post notes, payable at a future date. These were, of course, similar to a present day post dated check. The purpose of these post notes was, apparently, to prevent sudden demands for specie. One five-dollar bill was payable at a bank in Cincinnati, Ohio, apparently to facilitate exchange.

On February 5, 1838, the notes in circulation totalled \$14,030, of which \$1350 were demand notes and \$12,680 was in the form of post notes, payable twelve months after date. Such post notes, the officers asserted, were paid out for discount notes or drafts and were received by the bank on the same terms as demand notes. The rate of discount was seven per cent. Three years later a report gave the total of \$97,005 for the notes in circulation and \$9649 in deposits. To cover these liabilities the bank reported \$58,486.99 in cash, \$40,051.99 of which was in gold or silver.

On March 29, 1841, the directors of the Miners' Bank announced the suspension of specie payments, except at their discretion. Their explanation was that a large St. Louis firm was discrediting the bank's notes, then buying them at a discount, and presenting them for specie at par. The suspension of specie payments caused the Iowa Council to ask for a report on the condition of the Miners' Bank. This was submitted on February 1, 1842.²⁴ The liabilities of the bank at that time were listed as follows:

Capital stock	\$100,000.00
Discounts received	
Due depositors	5,094.25
Special deposits	3,069.65
Notes on special deposite [sic] with other	
banking institutions	46,000.00
Bank notes in circulation	167,030.00

^{\$322,074.17}

²⁴ Journal of the Council, 1841-1842, p. 137.

The assets listed were as follows:

Real estate	14,973.14
Personal property	
Stocks	8,000.00
Loans and discounts	151,976.94
Bills of exchange	11,588.75
Due from other banking institutions	53,763.65
Notes of other banks (chiefly Illinois)	32,812.00
Gold, silver, and notes of the State Bank	
of Missouri	43,277.66
-	

\$322,074.17

The following June the controlling interest in the Miners' Bank was purchased by men connected with the St. Louis Gas Light Company, although prominent business men of Dubuque were retained as directors. Since the charter required that the directors be stockholders these men, it developed later, were given certificates for fifty dollars in bank stock to enable them to qualify.

Under the circumstances it is not, perhaps, surprising that the remaining career of the Miners' Bank was inglorious. Its notes went down to thirty-seven or forty cents on the dollar. There were repeated attempts in the legislature to repeal the charter and charges of bribery were added to the complaints of bad banking practices. In the Sixth Legislative Assembly, petitions were received asking that the bank be required to resume specie payments or lose its charter. One of these was signed by 1172 residents of Des Moines County, possibly note holders. The two houses could not agree on measures to regulate the bank or repeal the charter, but the Miners' Bank did, on April 19, 1844, resume specie payments. At the same time the management of the bank changed hands and the Iowa Capital Reporter charged that the new owners had first bought up the notes at a "discount of 75 or 80 per cent", thus securing a considerable profit, while the original note holders lost most of their money.

Whatever the truth was as to these charges, it appears that the resumption of specie payments did not save the bank's charter, for on May 21, 1845, an act repealing the charter was adopted by the Iowa Legislative Assembly, unanimously in the House and eleven to one in the Senate. According to the provisions of the repeal act, the bank's notes must be accepted at par in payments of debts due the bank. Thus it appears that note holders and borrowers might have been able to make arrangements favorable to both.

For the next three years the Miners' Bank dragged out a shadowy existence, while appeals were presented to the courts, but it finally succumbed to a combination of bad banking and popular hostility to all kinds of banks. The last meeting of the board of directors was held on February 25, 1849.

Although the notes of the Miners' Bank circulated at a discount — sometimes for as much as 75 or 80 per cent — it does not appear that the bank actually defaulted in paying its notes, although between March 29, 1841, and April 19, 1844, it was unable to pay them in specie, and other paper, of course, was no better than the bank's notes, in some cases not as good.

Even this brief survey of the history of the Miners' Bank indicates some of the weaknesses of banking at that time, especially the indiscriminate and unprotected issue of bank notes in large amounts. Deposits were negligible. The banks collected a small amount of capital, often in doubtful paper money, in doubtful bonds, or in the form of personal notes of stockholders, issued perhaps twice as much in bank notes and then loaned the notes and often the capital at high rates of interest.

BANKING IN IOWA BETWEEN 1838 AND 1858

The Miners' Bank had been incorporated by the legislature of Wisconsin Territory. Requests for the incorporation of other banks were consistently refused by the Iowa Territorial legislature. Citizens of Jackson County who wished to incorporate a bank at Charleston presented a petition to the legislature in December, 1838.²⁵ It was referred to the Committee on Incorporations and no report was made concerning it. Again in 1842²⁶ a group of men from Davenport asked the incorporation of a bank, but the measure was defeated in the House by a vote of twenty-one to two. Three years later a similar request from Iowa City²⁷ was referred to a special committee and never considered.

By an act of the Iowa legislature, approved on January 24, 1839, a fine of \$1000 was imposed on any person convicted of subscribing to or becoming a member of any association, institution, or company organized for the purpose of issuing notes or bank bills unless such association, institution, or company had been incorporated and specifically granted authority to issue such notes or bank bills. One-half the fine was to go to the informer, the other half to the county.²⁸

Constitutional Prohibition of Banking. — When the first constitutional convention met at Iowa City in October, 1844, to formulate a constitution for the proposed State of Iowa, one of the points of contention was this question of banks. The discussion related chiefly to banks of issue, for deposits were small and note holders rather than depositors had the

²⁵ Journal of the House of Representatives, 1838-1839, p. 140; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, p. 35.

²⁶ Journal of the House of Representatives, 1841-1842, pp. 210, 211.

²⁷ Journal of the House of Representatives, 1845, pp. 81, 94, 95; Merritt's The Early History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 101-103.

²⁸ Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, p. 64.

greatest interest in the solvency of banks. The Committee on Incorporations submitted a majority report which would have authorized the incorporation of one bank in Iowa with branches not to exceed one for every six counties. The regulations prescribed were stringent. The act of the legislature establishing such a bank must also be submitted to the voters for adoption or rejection. One-half of the capital stock must be paid in gold or silver money before the bank could commence business. No note or bill could be issued for less than ten dollars. Stockholders were to be personally liable for the obligations of the bank and the bank must pay its notes and promises on demand or forfeit its charter. The legislature was to have power to repeal the charter at any time.

These restrictions did not satisfy some of the committee. Stephen Hempstead and Michael O'Brien submitted a minority report which read as follows: "No bank or banking corporation of discount, or circulation shall ever be established in this State." On the floor of the Convention, Hempstead moved that this minority report be substituted for the majority report. There were, he said, three kinds of banks — banks of deposit, discount, and circulation. It was the banks of circulation to which he objected, for under the usual plan of note issue, these banks loaned two or three times their capital. He was supported by some even more radical objectors. Richard Quinton of Keokuk County declared that all banks were a "set of swindling machines".

After much debate it was finally agreed that the legislature should be permitted to incorporate banks and banking institutions, but the charter of each corporation must be submitted to the electors at a general election for State officers and approved by them before it became effective. Such a charter might, however, be repealed by the legislature alone. The property of stockholders in all corpora-

tions was made liable for the debts of the corporation. The State was prohibited from holding stock in any bank or other corporation.²⁹

Since the Constitution of 1844 failed of adoption by the people, these provisions, of course, did not go into effect. The question, however, came up again in 1846. This time the Committee on Incorporations included in its report a definite prohibition of corporations "with banking or discounting privileges". An attempt to leave the incorporation of banks to future legislatures with the additional requirement of approval by the voters failed to win support, and the Constitution of 1846 was adopted with the following provision:

- 1. No corporate body shall hereafter be created, renewed, or extended, with the privilege of making, issuing, or putting in circulation, any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note, or other paper, or the paper of any bank, to circulate as money. The General Assembly of this State shall prohibit, by law, any person or persons, association, company or corporation, from exercising the privileges of banking, or creating paper to circulate as money.
- 2. Corporations shall not be created in this State by special laws, except for political or municipal purposes, but the General Assembly shall provide, by general laws, for the organization of all other corporations, except corporations with banking privileges, the creation of which is prohibited. The stockholders shall be subject to such liabilities and restrictions as shall be provided by law. The State shall not directly or indirectly, become a stockholder in any corporation.³⁰

Statutory Prohibition of Banking.— The Constitution of 1846 also gave to the General Assembly the duty of prohibiting unincorporated banking institutions. The only law of this kind adopted between 1846 and 1857, however, was

²⁰ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 36-41; Shambaugh's Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 134, 165, 166.

 $^{^{\}rm Sp}$ Shambaugh's Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa, Vol. I, p. 205.

contained in the Code of 1851, which, under "OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY", contained several provisions relating to banks and banking activities. Any person who subscribed to or became a member of any association or company formed for the purpose "of issuing or putting in circulation any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note, or other paper, or the paper of any bank to circulate as money in this state" was to be punished by imprisonment in the county jail for not to exceed one year or by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars.

Any officer, director, or agent of an incorporated company which took part in the issue of notes or other evidences of debt to be loaned or put in circulation as money was subject to a similar penalty. Notes and securities given to associations, institutions, or companies formed for the purpose of issuing notes or to furnish paper to circulate as money were declared void. "No person, association, or corporation shall issue any bills, drafts, or other evidences of debt to be loaned or put in circulation as money or to pass or be used as a currency or circulating medium; and every person, association, or corporation, and every member thereof who violates the provisions of this section shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars."

Banking Activities in Iowa Under the Constitution of 1846.— In spite of the Constitution and this law of 1851, it appears that the new State of Iowa was not entirely without banking facilities. Indeed it appears that there was a difference of opinion as to whether all banking was prohibited, or only banks of issue.

Much actual banking business was done during this period in connection with buying and selling produce, land, and other things. Individuals, partnerships, and corporations accepted deposits, discounted notes and drafts, and loaned

³¹ Code of 1851, Secs. 2731, 2734.

money. It was not yet an age of specialization. About 1842, for example, "Francis J. C. Peasley, Forwarding and Commission Merchant" of Burlington took on certain banking functions.³²

One of the best known of these banking firms was Cook (Ebenezer Cook) and Sargent (George B. Sargent) of Davenport who began business as land agents. Associated with this partnership, Cook and Sargent being members of the firms, were Cook, Sargent, and Downey of Iowa City, and Cook, Sargent, and Cook (John P. Cook) of Fort Des Moines. These firms loaned money to buy land, furnishing \$1.25 per acre and receiving \$1.75 per acre in a year's time, yielding forty per cent interest on the loan.

In 1856 they established connections with the Bank of Florence in Nebraska Territory by which they circulated bank notes. An Iowa City paper in 1856 contains an advertisement of Cook, Sargent & Downey, as "Bankers and Dealers in Exchange", who bought and sold "Bills of Exchange on all the principal cities of the U. States and Europe" and had land warrants for cash and on terms to suit purchasers.³³ Cook and Sargent—later designated as the "Pierpont Morgans of the day"—failed to survive the Panic of 1857 and on December 16, 1859, the firm closed its doors.³⁴

Other men prominent in banking activities during this period were John Weare, Jr., and George Greene of Cedar

³² Preston's *History of Banking in Iowa*, p. 49. For a list of some forty-five firms doing some banking business in Iowa, see pp. 49-54. Such firms did not, however, have authority to issue bank notes.

So Daily Evening Reporter (Iowa City), June 30, 1856; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, p. 50. There were two other advertisements of banks and two of the Missouri State Lottery in this issue. Land warrants were issued to men who had performed military service and entitled the holder to a specified number of acres of public land.—See Letters of J. W. Denison in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXI, pp. 89, 90.

³⁴ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 50, 68.

Rapids.³⁵ As members of various firms these men carried on an extensive real estate and banking business — beginning at Cedar Rapids in 1850 or 1851 as Weare, Finch and Company. In the early days the firm offered S. D. Carpenter a fourth interest for \$500. Success brought expansion and branches or affiliated firms soon developed — Greene, Weare, and Rice at Des Moines, Greene, Weare, and Benton at Council Bluffs, and Greene and Weare (George Weare) at Sioux City.

Like Cook and Sargent, Greene and Weare did a large business in connection with the sale of land, exchange, loans, and the purchase and sale of land warrants. These land warrants, selling in the East for approximately a dollar an acre, could be sold in Iowa for as high as a dollar and a quarter an acre. Green and Weare were pioneers in securing control of a Nebraska corporation through which they issued money — the Western Exchange, Fire and Marine Insurance Company. Later Greene and Weare sponsored the Fontenelle Bank, another of the Nebraska banks incorporated for the purpose of issuing money which circulated largely in Iowa.³⁶

BANK NOTES FROM OTHER STATES

Since money in the United States is no respecter of State boundaries, the prohibition of banking in Iowa did not prevent the circulation here of bank notes from other States and Territories.

State Banks.— The State banks were corporations chartered by a State legislature as banks of issue, much as the Bank of the United States had been chartered by the United States. In some cases a number of banks received charters

³⁵ Brewer and Wick's History of Linn County Iowa, pp. 435-440; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 52, 53.

³⁶ See below, pp. 26-29.

from a State legislature, but the tendency was for these State banks to be, in a sense, monopolies — at least as far as specific State charters were concerned.

The Ohio legislature, for example, gave charters to a number of banking institutions and in 1845 incorporated the State Bank of Ohio, with branches. Indiana adopted a State Bank in 1817 and when this bank closed chartered another State bank in 1834. After refusing to recharter this bank, the legislature incorporated the Bank of the State of Indiana in 1855. The State Bank of Illinois (1821), a second State Bank of Illinois (1835), the Michigan State Bank (1835), the Bank of the State of Missouri (1837), and the State Bank of Minnesota (1858) were other examples of so-called State banks.

The State of Ohio owned none of the stock of the State Bank of Ohio, and the stock of the Bank of the State of Indiana (1855) was privately owned also. The State of Indiana owned half the stock of the State Bank of Indiana (1834) and Missouri owned a half interest in the State Bank of Missouri. One-third of the stock of the Bank of Illinois was subscribed by the government, but only \$100,000 of the \$1,500,000 capital of the State Bank of Illinois (1835) could be subscribed by the State. The liability of the stockholders, the amount of reserve required, the number of branches, and the management also varied. These State Banks were, however, fairly stable and reliable.³⁷

Some banks incorporated by special acts of the various

ST Knox's A History of Banking in the United States, pp. 668-793; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, p. 83; Bradford's Banking, p. 72; Helderman's National and State Banks, pp. 41-67, 105. Wisconsin had no State Bank. The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company of Milwaukee, incorporated by George Smith in 1839, dominated the bank business in Wisconsin until after the establishment of a general bank law in 1853. At that time there was said to be in circulation nearly a million and a half dollars of the certificates of deposit known as "George Smith's money". These notes were unusually stable.

State and Territorial legislatures lacked the close association with the State government provided by the State banks, but each had a specific charter. A good example of such banks were the Nebraska banks which are described below, pages 26 to 29.

Free Banks.—In addition to the specially chartered banks of the various States, the so-called "free banks" of some States circulated their money in Iowa. These free banks were incorporated under general laws which laid down certain specific requirements. In some cases these restrictions were so stringent, the reserve required so large, and the personal liability of the stockholders so unlimited that no banks were ever organized under them. On the other hand, some of these general laws were so lax that almost any group of individuals could incorporate and issue bank notes. Michigan, for example, passed an act in 1837 which permitted twelve or more freeholders to organize a bank and issue bank notes. A reserve to cover these notes was required, but this might be almost any kind of securities. Some specie was required, but it was found that this money often travelled from bank to bank just ahead of the bank examiners, while the bank officials cheerfully swore that it belonged to the bank being examined. Indiana also had a "free bank" law.38

Some of these "free banks" gave a bank address as far from business centers as possible, sometimes in the depths of forests. The stockholders obtained articles of incorporation, issued several thousand dollars worth of bank notes, and borrowed back the capital, if any had been actually deposited. If any ambitious note holder finally found the geographical spot supposed to be the bank, he had his trip for nothing. Such notes started out bravely, and then

³⁸ White's Money and Banking, pp. 319, 326; Knox's A History of Banking in the United States, pp. 702, 734, 747.

passed from hand to hand, each time sinking lower in value until they were actually worth nothing. These were the typical "wild cat" banks. The term "wild cat" is said to have been derived from the use of the picture of a panther or wild cat as a vignette on the notes of a Michigan bank which proved to be worthless.³⁹

An illustration of the difficulties met in handling such notes is found in this account by J. M. D. Burrows, speaking of the spring of 1854. "About the 1st of March, Mr. Prettyman found that he had on hand some six thousand dollars of the paper of the free banks of Indiana, which was quoted at only eighty cents on the dollar. He sorted it over, putting each bank's paper by itself, and, grip-sack in hand, went from bank to bank, all over Indiana, and presented it for redemption, taking in payment exchange on Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis, or other current funds. By this means it netted him about ninety-five per cent."

BANK NOTES SPONSORED BY IOWA FIRMS

Bank notes issued by banks from other States and Territories filtered into Iowa in the course of business transactions. There were, however, some banks whose notes were circulated here as part of the financial transactions of Iowa business men who either directly or indirectly owned the stock of the bank issuing the notes. Some advertised that they were responsible for the redemption of the notes they gave out.

The Nebraska Banks.— Among the banks incorporated outside of Iowa, whose notes circulated largely in this State, were the Nebraska banks chartered by the legislature of the Territory of Nebraska between 1855 and 1857. The chief purpose of these banks seems to have been the

³⁹ Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanism (Fourth Edition), pp. 758, 759.

⁴⁰ Burrows's Fifty Years in Iowa, p. 102.

issue of money to circulate in Iowa, where banks themselves were prohibited.

The first of the Nebraska banks in point of time was not incorporated as a bank, but as the Western Exchange, Fire and Marine Insurance Company, given a charter by an act passed on March 16, 1855. It was apparently incorporated at the instance of the Iowa firm of Greene, Weare, and Benton, for one of the incorporators and the president was Thomas H. Benton, Jr., a member of this firm. Like the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, this corporation was authorized "to receive deposits and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the bylaws of said company, to issue certificates therefor."

It appears that Greene and Weare or their affiliated partnerships became the owners of a controlling interest in this corporation and that it had been incorporated to be used merely as a bank of issue. Its charter was construed to permit the issue of bank notes which were circulated in Iowa along with those of other Nebraska banks. A report submitted on September 1, 1856, listed among the assets:

\$60,000.00 stock certificates 97,276.01 bills receivable 48,122.12 due from bankers 40,148.09 specie

Its liabilities included the following:
\$100,000.00 stock account

51,599.00 bank notes in circulation 97,495.00 due depositors. 42

⁴¹ Laws of the Territory of Nebraska, 1855, Pt. VI, pp. 347, 348; Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. II, pp. 305, 306. At the same session a law was adopted which made it a penal offense for any person to subscribe to or become a member of any association or company formed to issue or circulate paper money of any kind in the Territory of Nebraska.— Laws of the Territory of Nebraska, 1855, Pt. III, Ch. 11.

⁴² Data furnished by Mrs. Clara S. Paine of Lincoln, Nebraska.

In September, 1857, a paper in Cedar Rapids published the following item:

We see some indications in certain quarters of a disposition to get up a little panic on Nebraska money. We wish to say to our friends and the public, don't be alarmed by any reports that may be put in circulation in regard to this matter. All four of the banks in this city are taking Western Exchange, Fontenclle, and Florence money, just as they always have, and say they shall continue

We will take all the above money we can get, on subscription for the Valley Times, and will give 5 per cent for it to delinquents, if they will only pay up.43

The optimism of the editor was ill-founded, however, for the Western Exchange Company failed that same month. One report at the time listed the loss at \$150,000, which was approximately the amount of deposits and note issue listed in 1856. The specie on hand was given as \$191.30 and the bills of solvent banks amounted to \$121.00.44

It appears that Greene and Weare, with their affiliates, also secured a controlling interest in another Nebraska corporation, the Fontenelle Bank at Bellevue, 45 whose charter they are said to have purchased for \$3000. This bank also existed largely to issue paper money and it, too, failed during the Panic of 1857.

The Bank of Florence, incorporated by the Nebraska Territorial legislature on January 18, 1856, had as two of its incorporators Ebenezer Cook of Davenport and Hugh D. Downey of Iowa City. The capital stock was \$100,000 and stockholders were liable for the notes issued, but there

⁴³ The Cedar Valley Times (Cedar Rapids), September 10, 1857.

⁴⁴ Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. II, p. 31; Sorensen's The Story of Omaha, p. 494; Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. II, pp. 26, 27, 31; Brewer and Wick's History of Linn County Iowa, p. 439.

was no limit to the amount of notes issued and no reserve requirement. The stock of this bank or at least a controlling interest was owned by Cook and Sargent and their related firms, and the notes were put in circulation by them, with a statement that they would be responsible for their redemption. These notes were used, it is said, to build new bank buildings in Iowa City and Davenport. The building at Davenport, occupied in May, 1857, cost \$75,000 and was said to have been the finest bank building west of New York.

By January, 1858 (just after the prohibition of banking had been removed by the new Constitution of Iowa), the notes of the Bank of Florence were circulating at a discount, and on August 10, 1858, a mob, carrying banners with the legends, "Down With Shinplasters" and "We Want Good Money", threatened the bank of Cook and Sargent at Davenport and the home of Ebenezer Cook. The Florence notes were, however, gradually redeemed at par and on September 6, 1858, the Cook and Sargent bank burned \$200,000 of the redeemed Bank of Florence notes.

In addition to these three banks, the Nebraska legislature chartered at least five other banks. One of these, the Bank of Nebraska, was controlled by men from Des Moines, including Benj. F. Allen and Hoyt Sherman. When this bank closed, its assets were negligible, but it appears that the note holders for the most part were recompensed by Allen, one of the wealthiest men in Des Moines.⁴⁷

A. J. Stevens Money.—Another example of bank notes issued outside Iowa, but guaranteed by their Iowa distribu-

⁴⁶ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 50, 62, 63, 69; Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 59; Laws of the Territory of Nebraska, 1855-1856, pp. 177, 178.

⁴⁷ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 62, 63, 64; Laws of the Territory of Nebraska, 1855-1856, pp. 202, 205, 208, 209, 224, 225, 230.

tors, were the notes issued by the Agricultural Bank of Tennessee. Andrew J. Stevens of Des Moines organized a firm which purchased the charter of this bank — apparently one of the free banks — and circulated its notes as loans to land buyers, at a high rate of interest. The firm placed its name on the notes and offered to redeem them if the bank did not. When the bank failed, however, it appears that the A. J. Stevens Company was reluctant to pay out good — or possibly good — money for bad notes, but a decision of the Iowa Supreme Court rendered in 1858 established the rule that those who circulated bank notes with the representation that they would be paid by the firm endorsing them were thereby made legally liable for the redemption of the notes so circulated.⁴⁸

Since most of the banks which had issued notes to be circulated in Iowa by Iowa firms were already insolvent and many of the firms were likewise bankrupt, this decision failed to save many note holders from losses.

SCRIP AND COUNTY ORDERS

Most governmental agencies pay their bills by orders or warrants, issued by the chief administrative officer or board and paid by the treasurer. These orders or warrants if unpaid for lack of funds usually draw interest.

County Orders.— County orders were, in the early history of Iowa, rather commonly used as a form of exchange in the community. They were assignable and drew interest at six per cent, and were receivable for three-fourths of the amount due for State tax and for all ordinary county and poor relief taxes, although "money only" was receivable for school taxes.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 64, 65; Tarbell v. A. J. Stevens & Co., 7 Iowa 163; Andrew's Pioneers of Polk County, Iowa, Vol. I, p. 254.

⁴⁹ Code of 1851, Secs. 153, 489.

Under some agreements, it appears that county orders might be accepted in lieu of cash but for an amount somewhat larger than the bill, a form of discount. In 1849, for example, the county commissioners of Johnson County issued a county order for forty dollars to a lumber dealer for thirty dollars' worth of lumber.⁵¹

Scrip.— Cities and towns also issued warrants or orders, similar to the county orders. Because of the scarcity of currency and the low state of municipal finances, some Iowa cities and towns went a step further and issued small notes usually called "scrip". The authority for such notes was doubtful, but during the decade of the fifties no one scrutinized such issues closely. At first these notes or bills were paid out only for services or materials, but there was a temptation also to issue them in order to secure specie. In any case the notes were a form of borrowing money. Scrip was sometimes payable "on demand" and sometimes at a future date.

The first ordinance authorizing scrip in Iowa City was apparently one adopted on October 21, 1857. This provided for the issue of bills, "in the style of bank notes" in denominations of one, two, three, and five dollars. The plates for this scrip were not to be taken outside Iowa City, except by permission of the Council. The amount printed at one

⁵⁰ Commissioner's Record of Johnson County, p. 1; county order of Johnson County filed in the Library of the State Historical Society.

⁵¹ Records of Proceedings in Commissioners Court of Johnson County, p. 399.

time was not to exceed \$5000, but a total of \$20,000 was authorized. 52

Approximately one month later this ordinance was amended to provide for \$10,000 in five-dollar scrip, \$6000 in three-dollar scrip, and \$4000 in one-dollar denominations. In January, 1858, the council ordered that city scrip could be paid out by the treasurer only in payment for city dues. Circulation of the scrip for other purposes was made punishable by a fine of one hundred dollars for each offence. Possibly people did not like to accept scrip. At any rate in March, 1858, the council provided that scrip should bear interest at the rate of ten per cent per annum, commencing on April 1, 1858. Scrip to the amount of one hundred dollars might be exchanged for bonds, which also bore ten per cent interest. A later ordinance authorized the exchange of reissued scrip for 25, 50, 75, or 100 dollar bonds.⁵³

An opposition newspaper complained of the extravagance of the city administration, asserting that people had waited for the scrip to pay their taxes and that because of the delay the five thousand dollars due as interest on the railroad bonds had not been paid and the city was "dishonored in Wall street". The engraver's bill for the plate or plates for the scrip was \$547.25, with \$78.00, finally compromised for \$52.00, additional for a rejected plate and \$110.00 traveling expenses for the man who went east to see about the plates. At that time there was outstanding \$11,000 in scrip.⁵⁴

The interest provision did not, apparently, make scrip

⁵² Charter and Laws of Iowa City, 1853-1859, pp. 82, 83. Bentonsport, Wapello, Cedar Falls, and other cities also issued scrip. Some of the Cedar Falls scrip was payable in two years.— Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 60; currency collection of W. M. Rosen,

⁵⁸ Charter and Laws of Iowa City, 1853-1859, pp. 83, 88, 89, 91, 105.

⁵⁴ Iowa Weekly Republican (Iowa City), March 31, 1858; Journal of the Council (Iowa City), Book II, p. 87.

acceptable, for a printed letter in an Iowa City paper of April 7, 1858, had this comment: "This issue of a city shin-plaster by our common council served a temporary purpose of relief, so long as taxes were paying; but it is thrown out by our banks at present, and hawked about the streets at twenty to fifty per cent. discount; again giving place to Florence, which bids fair to outride the storm."

On the first of May, 1858, an ordinance was adopted authorizing the reissue of scrip returned to the treasurer's office, but this reissued scrip did not bear interest and was not receivable for taxes except those levied for ordinary city purposes or for delinquent taxes. In July the council adopted the provision "that the City Treasurer and all other City Officers are hereby authorized and required to receive said scrip herein provided for, in payment of all taxes, fines and dues of said city, unless otherwise provided for by State law, except for payment of the interest on the M. and M. Rail Road Bonds, and the Treasurer is hereby authorized to receive such funds for said tax as are current at the different banking houses of Iowa City." 56

Samples of the Iowa City scrip are similar to the bank notes of the time. The pictures were, for the most part, fanciful scenes. The two-dollar "bill" bore the picture of two railroad trains, significant of the recent coming of the railroad to Iowa City. All four denominations had the words (in various orders) "Treasurer of Iowa City Pay to the Bearer on demand one [two, three, or five] Dollar [or Dollars]", and had blanks for the date, and for the signatures of the mayor and recorder. 57

The issue of scrip seems to have been unsuccessful as a

⁵⁵ Iowa Weekly Republican (Iowa City), April 7, 1858.

⁵⁶ Charter and Laws of Iowa City, 1853-1859, pp. 95, 96, 107.

⁵⁷ Iowa City scrip preserved in the Library of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

method of financing the city, and on August 6, 1859, an ordinance ordered a committee of the mayor and three aldermen to burn all the scrip then on hand, except for samples which were to be donated to the State Historical Society of Iowa. The mayor was instructed to secure the plates used and destroy them. On September 19th, the committee reported that it had burned \$14,788 in scrip, the amount then on hand, but the mayor reported that he had been unable to get the plates back from the company which had printed the scrip. This was not all the scrip issued, however, for scrip bonds continued to be given out for scrip notes. In 1861, \$6441 was reported due on these bonds and as late as July 4, 1862, a bond for \$71.90 was issued in return for scrip notes turned in.⁵⁸

Most of the scrip issued by Iowa cities, towns, townships, and counties appears to have been redeemed at par, often with interest at ten per cent. In 1866, however, a case involving scrip issued by Cedar Falls came before the Supreme Court of Iowa. In this decision the Court ruled that the issue of all such scrip intended to circulate as money was illegal under the Constitution of 1846 and that even "innocent purchasers" could not collect for it.⁵⁹

Burlington adopted a somewhat different plan. The city borrowed \$25,000 in gold which it distributed among the banks of the city, which paid six per cent on the gold while in their possession. The city then issued orders on this gold which the citizens used as money.⁶⁰

PRIVATE NOTES AND CHECKS USED AS MONEY

The notes or bills issued by the banks regularly incor-

⁵⁸ Journal of the Council (Iowa City), Book II, pp. 46, 47, 49, 55, 62, 70, 156, 218.

⁵⁹ Dively v. The City of Cedar Falls, 21 Iowa 565.

on The Debates of the Constitutional Convention, 1857, Vol. I, pp. 355-358; Second Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Burlington, 1877, p. 70.

porated by the legislatures of the various States and Territories and by the free banks had some legal standing, although their value depended largely on the wording of the charters and the ability and integrity of the men in charge. The scrip or orders of the various governmental subdivisions also had official prestige to promote its circulation. But money was so scarce and the value of the scrip and bank notes on the whole so doubtful, that it is not surprising that Iowans frequently accepted the checks, bills, and coupons issued by business men and business firms on much the same terms as bank notes. This private "money" was, of course, purely a personal matter and except in a few unusual cases never circulated far from home. Its value as a medium of circulation depended almost entirely upon the confidence of the people in the man or firm issuing it.

This private paper was of two kinds — fractional currency, to assist in making change, and bills or checks of larger denominations, similar to bank notes. These larger bills were a form of deferred payment as well as a medium of exchange.

The use of paper for parts of a dollar seems to have been rather common with business men. Some of these "shinplasters" resembled bank notes in form, although the paper was inferior. An example of this scrip shows three pictures similar to those on bank notes — a hunting scene, a drove of cattle, and an anvil — with the words "M. Frank & Bro. Will pay fifty cents on demand, in current bank bills, When a dollar's worth of these Checks are presented at their Wholesale and Retail Clothing House, washington street, lowa city."

A small green card in a collection of paper currency bears the picture of an angular bob-tailed horse on which are printed the words "stumptail currency". Above the horse are the words "10 Cts." and across one end the

words "Redeemable at Tousley's Saloon, In Currency, in amounts of even dollars" — also, no doubt, in a more liquid commodity.

Personal checks and notes also developed into paper money. How this money came about is explained in J. M. D. Burrows's Fifty Years in Iowa.⁶¹

In the winter of 1853-1854, Burrows and Prettyman were buying hogs and shipping them east. The drafts received from the eastern merchants were sold to or deposited with banks in Illinois or with Iowa firms doing an exchange business. Burrows and Prettyman deposited drafts as they came in with Cook and Sargent, and gave checks on Cook and Sargent to the farmers. At rush times they checked out money faster than Cook and Sargent could collect or exchange their drafts. At one time, Burrows reports, he had overchecked his account \$120,000. Ebenezer Cook finally declared that they could not pay checks ahead of actual deposits, and Burrows then paid for the hogs he bought in checks payable the following spring at various dates, so that each holder had to wait the same length of time. If they preferred to wait until June, the farmers were told they could have gold and Burrows added "I brought sixty thousand dollars from St. Louis, on the 1st of June, and deposited it in Cook and Sargent's bank, to pay those gold checks, some of which were not presented for payment until the following winter." In the meantime the checks were receivable in trade at the store run by Burrows and Prettyman.

About this time, according to Burrows, business became depressed because of the uncertainty of the currency. "People had lost confidence in the State banks of Illinois and the free banks of Indiana. Small change had about disappeared, and, instead, many persons gave their own

⁶¹ Burrows's Fifty Years in Iowa, pp. 99-101, 105, 106, 107, 115.

individual tickets, printed on pasteboard or fine paper, as the case might be, payable when presented in amounts equal to one dollar."

Soon after 1856 Cook and Sargent began circulating the notes of the Bank of Florence, chartered by the legislature of Nebraska, and controlled by members of the Cook and Sargent firms. Burrows and Prettyman deposited their drafts with Cook and Sargent and paid out the notes of the Bank of Florence. They soon decided that they might as well circulate their own money and sent to a New York firm for \$100,000 in bills. They were informed that such bills were not usually engraved or printed except for banks, but upon the recommendation of a New York commission house, the bills were printed. Burrows says of the transaction "They threw in ten thousand dollars, sending us one hundred and ten thousand, for which they charged us eight hundred dollars, the price agreed upon for one hundred thousand. They were beautifully engraved, printed on the nicest kind of bank-note paper, and looked as well as any bank bills in circulation."

It was agreed that Burrows and Prettyman would pay out either their own money or the notes of the Bank of Florence as the farmers preferred, and the eastern exchange would be carried on through Cook and Sargent as before. In return the notes of Burrows and Prettyman were to be protected and treated on an equality with those of the Bank of Florence. "In a short time", says Burrows, "we began to pay out our checks. They went just as well as Florence. Cook & Sargent took them the same as Florence. The railroad took them, also the steamboats, and we had no trouble to circulate them. We calculated the profit on the circulation at ten thousand dollars a year".

The money issued by the Nebraska banks and that issued at home, by such firms as Burrows and Prettyman soon tended to drive out eastern money. If a man brought in one of Burrows and Prettyman's checks and asked for money he could use in the East, they gave him notes of the Bank of Florence and when he presented these at the office of Cook and Sargent, they gave him Burrows and Prettyman checks. This, Burrows says, was called "swapping cats".

Everyone wanted good money and no one had it. Before long, Cook and Sargent refused to accept deposits of Burrows and Prettyman notes, except for a special account. The result was a flood of demands for the redemption of Burrows and Prettyman checks or notes. Burrows met this run with the explanation that while the notes could not be redeemed in currency, they would be accepted at the store at par. This "money" was, it appears, largely redeemed in goods.

It was perhaps of this firm that Hiram Price wrote: "I have a very distinct recollection of seeing the chief member of the firm carrying in his hat (a large bell-crown, such as our Uncle Samuel is represented as wearing) whole printed sheets, resembling bank bills, of what was called the money of the firm, and in his vest pocket a pair of scissors, so that whenever and wherever he was met on the street or other place he was prepared to pay in this currency for wheat or pork, or any other legal claim, by simply extracting from his capacious hat a sheet of what he called, and what for the time being passed for, 'money,' and with his scissors cutting off the necessary sum to liquidate the claim!"

Some of the better known private companies also issued notes which were similar to the scrip issued by the cities. The Western Stage Company, a public utility with head-quarters at Des Moines and Iowa City, issued scrip in payment for labor, horses, and feed. This scrip was receivable

⁶² Price's The State Bank of Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 270.

for stage fares and was also redeemable in current money at a Chicago bank. Toward the end of this period the issue of this private "money" became more general. Banks, railroads, and insurance companies issued notes or certificates of deposit, some payable on demand, some at a future date with interest. Some were made payable to "bearer", others to a specified person "or bearer".63

The advantage of this private "money" depended partly on how long it was before the notes were presented for specie and some firms made definite efforts to get their notes in circulation as far from home as possible. In 1855, for example, J. W. Denison offered to bring five or ten thousand dollars of bills of the Providence Western Land Company from Rhode Island to Iowa and exchange it here or in Rock Island for other money with which he would purchase a draft on New York for 1½ per cent.⁶⁴

Such "money", left stranded far from home, soon depreciated and in some cases could be bought up at a reduced value by agents and returned to the issuer, who thus sold his notes at or near par and perhaps bought them for fifty or sixty per cent or less, in addition to having the use of the specie while the notes were out. Bills lost or destroyed of course accrued to the profit of the issuer.

In 1861 a case involving some of these private notes came before the Iowa Supreme Court. The paper involved consisted of post notes issued in November, 1857, by the Dubuque Harbor Company, a corporation organized under the general incorporation laws of Iowa. The Court held that these notes were obviously intended to be used as money, that under the Constitution of 1846 this was unconstitutional, and that the adoption of the new Constitution permitting

⁶³ Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 60; collection of W. M. Rosen.

⁶⁴ Letters of J. W. Denison in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXXI, p. 91.

the authorization of banks did not of itself repeal the statutory prohibition of the *Code of 1851*. Such notes, the Court declared, were void even in the hands of innocent holders.⁶⁵

"CANDLING" BANK NOTES

The problems of the pioneer bankers or business men were complicated by the necessity of judging the value of the paper money which came into their hands. There was, of course, the danger of accepting counterfeit coins, but this paled into insignificance beside the problem of deciding which bank notes were to be discounted and how much, to say nothing of the possibility that they might be entirely counterfeit or might represent a purely mythical bank.

That this problem involved no small amount of financial knowledge is evident from the story that two men of an inquiring turn of mind listed the notes which went through the exchanges during a short period in 1856 and found notes of more than three hundred banks and six different kinds of local scrip or orders. Two-thirds of these bills were then below par.⁶⁶

Bills were classified as they came in, depending upon the status of the banks issuing them. Hoyt Sherman tells of the five labels used in one old currency tray. "Eastern Penn., N. Y. and New England" were choice funds, rating next to gold. "Ohio, Indiana and Missouri" and "Va., Md. and Ky." were not so good, but were considered safe and were bankable. "Illinois and Wisconsin" represented the free bank notes, issued chiefly at Chicago and Milwaukee. The fifth group was designated as "Western Mixed" and caused most of the grief of the banker so far as currency was concerned. This was the "wild cat" money. "The vigi-

⁶⁵ Reynolds v. Nichols & Co., 12 Iowa 398.

⁶⁶ Aurner's History of Johnson County, Iowa. Vol. I, pp. 445, 447.

lant banker watched that pile of currency closer than the others", said Mr. Sherman. "Its increase in quantity caused much anxious concern—and its decrease corresponding elation. As the close of the business day approached, if the supply was large, he prayed inwardly for checks to come in for payment; and if he could close up with that part of his tray empty, his sleep that night would be calm and peaceful. That kind of money reversed the usual order of things in the mind of a banker—a large balance, instead of being a source of satisfaction, was a very disagreeable menace." 167

A man who accepted a bank note and then found that it was at a discount had, as a rule, no recourse. In this respect a bank note was less safe than a check for which the person who passed it with his endorsement might be held responsible, if the giver had no money in the bank or the bank failed.

Hiram Price, himself a banker and business man, wrote concerning this problem:

In those days in Iowa the two most important books that every business man needed were a Bible and a counterfeit detector. And of these two the detector seemed to be the most important for at least six days out of the seven, and most men in business seemed to act as though it had been written "six days shalt thou diligently study thy counterfeit detector, but the seventh which is the Sabbath, thou mayest give heed to thy Bible" . . . but business men were not even then secure against imposition and loss from depreciated and counterfeit bank paper, because a bank might be in good condition when the detector was published, but the next week afterward, and before he could procure a new edition, showing the standing of the banks, paper which he had taken as good would have depreciated from five to twenty per cent, and sometimes even more. 68

⁶⁷ Sherman's Early Banking in Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 7, 8.

⁶⁸ Price's The State Bank of Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 267.

One of the best known of these bank note guides was *Thompson's Bank-Note Reporter*, established by John Thompson in 1836. At one time its circulation was 100,000 copies per week. This paper is still published as the *American Bank Reporter*. 69

COUNTERFEITING

The ease with which paper money could be issued during the pioneer period made counterfeiting extremely easy. Almost any printer could print bank notes and often printers did so without investigation. Not infrequently bank notes bearing the name of a mythical bank appeared. So numerous were the banks of issue, and so varied the form of bank notes, that forgeries were often undetected for a long time.⁷⁰

The circulation of these counterfeit bank notes seems to have been one of the "rackets" of pioneer gangsters. Edward Bonney tells in his book of going about in search of the murderers of Colonel George Davenport. As an introduction into the circles of the underworld of that day, he obtained from Judge Wilson some blank sheets of the notes of the Miners' Bank. These he carried with him. When he met men whom he suspected might be the murderers or know of them, he displayed the notes, giving the men to understand that he was passing counterfeit bills. One man was enthusiastic about the supposed counterfeit, which he pronounced almost as good as the original. He offered to pay twenty-five dollars per hundred which he asserted was the usual price for counterfeit paper until, as he said, it

⁶⁹ Footnote to Letters of J. W. Denison in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXI, p. 92. Thompson was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of New York and the Chase National Bank, also of New York.

⁷⁰ Merritt's The Early History of Banking in Iowa, p. 34.

was "blown in the newspapers" after which it was worth less.

The first session of the Territorial legislature of Iowa made the forging or counterfeiting of any "bank bill or note, post note, check, draft, bill of exchange, contract, promissory note, due bill for the payment of money or property, power of attorney, county order, or any accountable receipt, or any order or request for the payment of money" or the passing of such forged or counterfeited papers a crime punishable by a fine up to \$1000 and imprisonment up to ten years.

Any person who knowingly had in his possession counterfeit notes or bills with the intent of passing or assisting in passing such counterfeit paper or any person who had in his possession any blank or unfinished note of any incorporated bank in the Territory or elsewhere with intention to complete the notes or bills so that they would circulate as money might be fined up to \$1000 and imprisoned up to five years. Any person making or passing a fictitious bill or note purporting to represent a bank, corporation, or individual, not in existence was subject to a fine of \$500 and imprisonment up to five years.

The counterfeiting of "any of the species of gold or silver coin now current, or that hereafter may be current in this Territory" or the passing or attempting to pass such counterfeit coins was made punishable by a fine of not more than \$2000 and imprisonment not less than three nor more than ten years.

The Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa, for 1842–1843, raised the penalty for forging paper instruments of all kinds, to imprisonment at hard labor for not less than three years and not more than twenty years. The fine was

⁷¹ Bonney's The Banditti of the Prairies, pp. 65-72.

⁷² Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, pp. 153, 154.

dropped. Passing or disposing of such counterfeit paper money was punishable by imprisonment from one to fifteen years. The penalty for counterfeiting gold, silver, or copper coins was imprisonment at hard labor from one to fifteen years.⁷³

The Code of 1851 contained an elaborate section on forging and counterfeiting. Altering or counterfeiting the notes of banks, corporations, or companies authorized by the law of any State or country to issue such notes might be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than \$300 and imprisonment in the county jail for not more than a year. Having counterfeit bills in one's possession with intent to pass such bills subjected one to imprisonment in the penitentiary for not more than five years, or to a fine of not more than \$200 and a jail sentence of not more than one year. Counterfeiting coin was punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary from one to ten years.

Similar provisions were contained in the Revision of 1860.⁷⁵ These are State laws. The United States government made counterfeiting coins, stamps, and Treasury notes a criminal offense,⁷⁶ but Federal laws did not operate to prevent counterfeiting of State bank notes of any kind or any of the substitutes for money.

How much counterfeiting went on in Iowa before the Civil War it is, of course, impossible to say. Money was so uncertain and taken at one's own risk that counterfeit bills and coins were little worse than some of the legal "wild cat" money. Moreover the law enforcing officers of a pio-

⁷³ Revised Statutes of Iowa, 1842-1843, pp. 175-178.

⁷⁴ Code of 1851, Secs. 2629-2635.

⁷⁵ Revision of 1860, Secs. 4253-4270.

⁷⁰ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. I, p. 115, Vol. II, p. 404, Vol. III, pp. 275, 276, 771, 772, Vol. IV, pp. 119, 121, Vol. V, p. 749.

neer community were, on the whole, unskilled in the detection of counterfeiting.

Frontier reminiscences and histories, however, make frequent references to counterfeiting. About 1843, for example, there was a suspicion that some one was making counterfeit coins in Davis County. On January 19, 1845, a man named John B. Cole filed charges that counterfeit money was concealed about the persons of "Greenbury Willis and James Pussel". Under authority of a warrant, the men were searched and Willis was discharged on the ground that no counterfeit money was found "concealed" about his person. Pussel on whom some counterfeit coins were found was later discharged for lack of the complaining witness. The justice taxed the costs, \$8.42½ to Cole. Later molds and apparatus for coining Mexican dollars were found at the root of a tree in the vicinity.

RESUMPTION OF BANKING IN 1858

It was evident that in spite of the Constitution of 1846, banking institutions had developed in Iowa and that by the importation of bank notes from other States and Territories, the prohibition of the incorporation of banks of issue was rendered of no practical protection to the people of Iowa. Prohibitive measures having failed, people demanded either government banks or State regulation. This required a change in the Constitution. Since other changes were being considered, a new Constitution was drafted and adopted in 1857. The provisions concerning banks read in part as follows:

Section 1. No corporation shall be created by special laws; but the General Assembly shall provide, by general laws, for the organization of all corporations hereafter to be created, except as hereinafter provided. . . .

77 Horn's History of Davis County, Iowa, in the Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. II, pp. 350, 351.

- See. 3. The State shall not become a stockholder in any corporation, nor shall it assume or pay the debt or liability of any corporation, unless incurred in time of war for the benefit of the State.
- See. 4. No political or municipal corporation shall become a stockholder in any banking corporation, directly or indirectly.
- See. 5. No act of the General Assembly, authorizing or creating corporations or associations with banking powers, nor amendments thereto shall take effect, or in any manner be in force, until the same shall have been submitted, separately, to the people, at a general or special election, as provided by law, to be held not less than three months after the passage of the act, and shall have been approved by a majority of all the electors voting for and against it at such election.
- See. 6. Subject to the provisions of the foregoing section, the General Assembly may also provide for the establishment of a State Bank with branches.
- See. 7. If a State Bank be established, it shall be founded on an actual specie basis, and the branches shall be mutually responsible for each other's liabilities upon all notes, bills, and other issues intended for circulation as money.
- See. 8. If a general Banking law shall be enacted, it shall provide for the registry and countersigning, by an officer of State, of all bills, or paper credit designed to circulate as money, and require security to the full amount thereof, to be deposited with the State Treasurer, in United States stocks, or in interest paying stocks of States in good credit and standing, to be rated at ten per cent. below their average value in the City of New York, for the thirty days next preceding their deposit; and in case of a depreciation of any portion of said stocks, to the amount of ten per cent. on the dollar, the bank or banks owning such stock shall be required to make up said deficiency by depositing additional stocks: and said law shall also provide for the recording of the names of all stockholders in such corporations, the amount of stock held by each, the time of any transfer, and to whom.
- Sec. 9. Every stockholder in a banking corporation or institution shall be individually responsible and liable to its creditors, over and above the amount of stock by him or her held, to an amount equal to his or her respective shares so held for all of its liabilities, accruing while he or she remains such stockholder.

Sec. 10. In case of the insolvency of any banking institution, the bill-holders shall have a preference over its other creditors.

Sec. 11. The suspension of specie payment by banking institutions shall never be permitted or sanctioned.⁷⁸

The legislature which met in the spring of 1858 passed two important laws relative to banking. One of these created the State Bank of Iowa, which will be discussed under a separate heading. It also enacted, by a law approved on March 22, 1858, the so-called "free bank" law of Iowa. In compliance with the new Constitution, this law was submitted to a popular referendum on June 28, 1858—the date also of the referendum on the State Bank—and was approved by a majority of almost three to one.

Although no banks were incorporated under this law and no bank notes issued, a brief account of its provisions may be valuable as illustrating the safeguards the General Assembly at that time felt to be necessary for banks of issue, and all banks were still expected to issue notes.

The act established a minimum capital for banks incorporated under this law of \$50,000 which must be paid in cash. No bank could be located in a town of less than 500 inhabitants. Stockholders were subjected to double liability and a reserve of twenty-five per cent was required to cover deposits and the banks were prohibited from holding real estate except for actual banking purposes and that bought at a sale to satisfy a judgment. These banks were authorized to issue bank notes, but only in accordance with stringent regulations and under the supervision of the State Auditor. Such notes were to be secured by deposits of public stocks — United States or State. No notes were to be issued for less than \$1.00. Not more than ten per cent of the amount could be in notes of \$2.00, not more

⁷⁸ Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Article VIII.

⁷⁹ See below, pages 48-51.

than twenty-five per cent in notes under \$5.00, and fifty per cent must be in notes of \$10.00 or more.80

This does not, of course, mean that there were no banks in Iowa during this period except the fifteen branches of the State Bank. Private banks continued to do business, although they could not issue notes. A few banks incorporated under the general incorporation law of the State.⁸¹ Such incorporation protected the stockholders from unlimited liability, but furnished no special protection to creditors and gave to the corporation no authority for the issue of bank notes.

NOTES OF THE STATE BANK OF IOWA

The idea of a State Bank was an old one, carried over from the Bank of the United States and many of the States. At the time Iowa adopted the Constitution of 1857 which permitted banking, almost all the surrounding States except Wisconsin had State banks of some kind. The Iowa Constitution fixed some definite restrictions on the legislature so far as banks were concerned. The State was prohibited from owning stock in any corporation, which, of course, applied to the State Bank. Furthermore any State Bank must be on an actual specie basis and the branches must be mutually responsible for all notes issued. The act creating such a bank must be submitted to the voters and be approved by them.

The General Assembly adopted an act incorporating a State Bank of Iowa on March 20, 1858, and on June 28th the act was approved by an overwhelming vote — 41,568 for the bank and 3697 against it.⁸²

⁸⁰ Laws of Iowa, 1858, Ch. 114, pp. 215-234. This law was repealed in 1870.— Laws of Iowa, 1870, Ch. 25.

⁸¹ Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 135, 136.

⁸² Laws of Iowa, 1858, Ch. 87; Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, p. 84.

The act named ten commissioners to organize the State Bank.83 Each branch was to choose one director and three were named by the act to represent the State. The three representing the State - after the first appointments were to be elected biennially by the General Assembly. Thirty was the maximum number of branches permitted. A safety fund of 121/2 per cent of the amount of notes issued by each branch was to be held by the State Bank for the redemption of notes issued by that branch. branches were made mutually responsible for notes issued, but not for other debts and obligations. Thus the State Bank proper was merely the sum of its parts, a board supervising the branches with special control over note issues. Only fifteen branches were established, located at Muscatine, Iowa City, Des Moines, Dubuque, Oskaloosa, Mt. Pleasant, Keokuk, Davenport, Lyons, Burlington, Washington, Fort Madison, McGregor, Council Bluffs, and Maquoketa.

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the State Bank was held at Iowa City — the location fixed by the law as the central office — on October 27, 1858. Chester Weed of Muscatine was elected president. He was later succeeded by Hiram Price of Iowa City who served from 1860 until 1865 when the State Bank closed. The most important activity of the central Board of Directors was, of course, the issue of bank notes, which were furnished to the branches in any amounts up to two hundred per cent of the capital stock. The board, however, kept a vigilant eye on the activities of the branches and promptly frowned upon rash procedure, since the insolvency of one branch would have taxed the others to redeem the notes of the defaulting member.

⁸³ For accounts of the State Bank see Preston's History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 83-125; Lathrop's Some Iowa Bank History in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIII, p. 62.

The notes issued by the State Bank varied somewhat in form. Some were printed especially for a designated branch and bore the name of the branch in large printed letters. Some notes, on the contrary, appear to have been ordered for all the branches with a blank for writing in the name of the branch. All notes, however, had to be approved by the central board and registered.

The bank notes were well printed and were issued in denominations of one, two, three, five, and ten dollars and in some larger denominations. Among the notes preserved, the one-dollar bills bore the picture of two pastoral scenes, the portrait of Governor Lucas, and the words "The ----Branch of the State Bank of Iowa At - Will pay to the bearer on demand ONE DOLLAR". The two-dollar bill bore a farm scene evidently representing a stock buyer at work and the portrait of a young boy with long curls. The three-dollar bills had the representation of a cornhusking scene and the picture of a young woman. covered wagon with the ox teams and a portrait of Antoine Le Claire ornamented the five-dollar notes. Ten-dollar bills bore an allegorical picture of Iowa, with a train in the left hand lower corner, and a picture of Governor Ralph P. Lowe on the right. This is the only picture named on the bills. The reverse side of these bills bore the denomination and the name of the State Bank. Some of the notes issued by the Keokuk branch bore pictures of George Washington, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and Daniel Webster.

The amount of these notes outstanding varied, of course, from time to time. On February 3, 1862, the State Bank reported \$754,412.23 in specie on hand and \$1,111,908 in outstanding bank notes, \$140,000 of the notes being in the banks. In November, 1864, the notes of the State Bank totalled some \$1,428,432, based on a joint capital of \$1,031,925.

The Civil War and the State Bank.— The State Bank met the usual demands of the State in war time without difficulty. Its difficulty with its notes was due entirely to Federal action and not to any mismanagement of the bank. The first of these conditions—the inflation of the currency by greenbacks—compelled the bank to suspend specie payments in self defense.

The State Bank branches were required to redeem their notes in specie on demand, but debts to them could be paid in greenbacks. Since specie was at a premium, these banks were at a disadvantage. To defend themselves against this drainage of specie, the directors voted to permit the branches to redeem their notes in greenbacks, except for bona fide holders of notes who were residents of the State. This, of course, was a technical, though justifiable, violation of its charter.

Federal Tax on Notes of State Banks.—But this was not the only difficulty. On February 25, 1863, Congress passed an act establishing national banks and by another act a tax of two per cent was imposed on State bank notes. In 1865 this was raised to ten per cent and applied to all bank notes paid out after July 1, 1866. The law was a death blow to State banks so far as the issue of paper money was concerned. Since this was the chief purpose of the State Bank of Iowa, preparations were made to dissolve it. The last regular meeting of the directors was held at Iowa City on August 16, 1865, and on November 22, 1865, the directors burned some \$35,460 of the redeemed bank notes. November 14, 1867, was set for the final redemption of its notes. The records indicated, however, that several hundred dollars in notes were never presented and the bank profited by that much. These notes, of course, were probably lost or destroyed, or perhaps hoarded by people who were not

aware until long afterwards that the notes had been called for redemption.

Most of the branches, if not all, soon became national banks continuing to function and to issue bank notes under Federal supervision, thus illustrating one more step in the transfer of power to the Federal government. The Davenport branch began business as the First National Bank of Davenport on June 29, 1863, the first national bank in the United States.⁸⁴

PAPER MONEY BECOMES FEDERAL

The State Bank of Iowa was conservatively managed and showed promise of permanence and stability, at least until the lessons of 1857 should have been forgotten. The Civil War, however, brought complications. The nation, shaken by the strife within, went forward one more step in the direction of centralization and when the war was over, the issue of paper money had passed from the control of the States—which had done it badly—to the United States. Before taking up the greenbacks and national bank notes, it may be of interest to mention briefly some earlier forms of money or exchange furnished by the United States.

United States Bank Notes.— During the years before the Civil War the United States government did not issue paper money. It did authorize the issue of bank notes by the two banks of the United States, the second operating from 1816 to 1836 and thus touching the early period of Iowa history, but as the recharter of this bank was opposed at least as early as 1831, it is unlikely that many of these notes reached Iowa, at least until after its reincorporation as a State bank under Pennsylvania laws in 1836.85

⁸⁴ The History of The First National Bank in the United States, p. 34.

⁸⁵ For a history of the first and second Bank of the United States, see Knox's History of Banking in the United States, pp. 35-79.

United States Treasury Notes.—Treasury notes were not in the beginning intended to be used as money. They were rather short term bonds, drawing interest and transferable only by assignment. In 1837, Congress authorized the issue of \$10,000,000 in Treasury notes due in one year with interest not to exceed six per cent. No notes were to be for amounts less than fifty dollars. In 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, the issue of notes to take the place of those redeemed was authorized. The amount outstanding under these acts was \$5,000,000, except in 1842, when the maximum was set at \$6,000,000. An act of 1846, raised the maximum of Treasury notes to \$10,000,000 and in 1847 to \$23,000,000. These acts also authorized borrowing money on certificates of stock instead of the issue of the notes, at the discretion of the President.⁸⁶

In December of 1857 an issue of Treasury notes of not to exceed \$20,000,000 was authorized. After the issue of the first \$6,000,000, these notes were to be sold for specie to the bidders who accepted the lowest interest rate. A law of 1859 extended the issue of these notes, adding a proviso authorizing interest at six per cent in lieu of exchanging them for specie upon bids for the lowest rate of interest.⁸⁷

During the Civil War the issue of Treasury notes was increased until the inflation caused the suspension of specie payments. An issue of \$10,000,000 was authorized in December, 1860, with a minimum denomination of fifty dollars. These notes were payable in a year and drew interest not to exceed six per cent. In July, 1861, an act authorized three different kinds of Treasury notes and marks the transition from notes as a form of investment to notes used as money—greenbacks.

⁸⁶ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. V, pp. 201-204, 228, 323, 370, 411, 469, 581, Vol. IX, pp. 40, 118-121.

⁸⁷ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XI, pp. 257-259, 430.

The Greenbacks.— The Secretary of the Treasury might, under this law, issue notes for the purpose of borrowing money in denominations of not less than fifty dollars, bearing interest at the rate of 7.3 per cent, payable in three years. He might also issue notes in exchange for coin or in payment of salaries, in denominations less than fifty dollars, payable on demand, or he might issue notes due in one year, bearing interest at 3.65 per cent, which were exchangeable for larger Treasury notes. None of these could be smaller than ten dollars. The total of non-interest bearing notes was not to exceed \$50,000,000. Less than a month later this act was amended to permit the issue of notes as small as five dollars. The demand notes under \$50.00 were made receivable for public dues.

On February 12, 1862, another \$10,000,000 of the demand notes were authorized, in addition to the \$50,000,000 provided for in the earlier law. Two weeks later an act authorized the issue of \$150,000,000 in Treasury notes, payable on demand to bearer, in denominations not less than five dollars. Of these \$50,000,000 were to take the place of other notes. These notes were made receivable in payment of all taxes and debts due the United States except duties on imports, and for all claims against the United States, ex cept interest on bonds and notes. They were also made legal tender. Such notes, because of the green color of the obverse side, were called "greenbacks". The following July a second issue of \$150,000,000 was authorized on much the same terms. These, however, could be issued in amounts as low as one dollar. Early in March, 1863, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue \$400,000,-000 in Treasury notes, bearing interest at six per cent. These notes were not to be for less than ten dollars, so

⁸⁸ United States Statutes at Large, Vol, XII, pp. 121, 122, 259, 313.

⁸⁹ United States Statutes at Large, Vol XII, pp. 338, 345, 532, 710.

How many of these Treasury notes and greenbacks circulated in Iowa, it is, of course, impossible to determine. The earlier Treasury notes were in large denominations and payable to order. They were not intended to circulate and were not convenient for that purpose. On the other hand they were receivable for public lands and must have been a convenient form in which to carry money from the eastern States to Iowa.

Postage Currency.— The use of fiat money in the form of greenbacks soon tended to drive the silver and gold money out of circulation. Even the smaller coins disappeared. Postage stamps were used, but they were sticky and scarce. Private individuals, business firms, and banks issued fractional paper currency and even copper coins. To remedy this situation the Federal government in July, 1862, prohibited the circulation of private fractional currency, but authorized the use of stamps to pay debts due the United States up to five dollars. Enterprising advertisers provided transparent cases for the stamps.

In response to this law the United States put into circulation small bills — approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ or 2 inches — which were designated as "postage currency". They were issued in various denominations such as 3, 5, 10, 15, 25, and 50 cents, and bore designs similar to the regular postage stamps. The fifty cent piece, for example, bore the imprint of five ten-cent stamps.

Fractional Currency.— Apparently this postage currency answered a financial need, for in March, 1863, Congress authorized the issue of more bills of less than a dollar. These were frankly fiat money. They were receivable for stamps and were exchangeable for United States notes in amounts of not less than three dollars. The denominations were similar to the postage currency, but in 1865 the issue

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of fractional currency for less than five cents was prohibited. The whole amount of fractional currency, including postage and revenue stamps used as money, was not to exceed \$50,000,000.90

National Bank Notes Make Their Debut .- The Civil War, following closely upon the heels of the Panic of 1857 revealed the inadequacy of the exchange system in the United States. In 1861 the circulation consisted of \$246,-400,000 in coins and \$202,005,767 in notes of State banks. More money was needed. The recurrent issue of Treasury notes, which were intended to circulate, put gold at a premium and on December 31, 1861, the banks voted to suspend specie payments. As a result specie, especially gold, circulated at a premium which increased as inflation continued until in 1864 a dollar in gold was worth \$2.85 in greenbacks. As a result \$2,565,233,591 issued in the form of paper currency during a period of 45 months previous to September 30, 1865, gave the government only \$1,705,347,632 in gold - a loss of \$860,000,000 which, of course, ultimately had to be paid by the taxpayers.

To supplement the issue of legal tender greenbacks, the United States, on February 25, 1863, made provision for the incorporation of national banks by Federal charter. This law was revised on June 3, 1864. These banks were banks of issue, but their notes were carefully regulated by law, and were protected by United States bonds deposited with the Comptroller of the Currency at the rate of \$100 in bonds for every \$90 of notes issued. The denominations authorized were one, two, three, five, ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand dollars. In addition, as has been said before, the United States government levied a tax on the bank notes issued by State banks.

⁹⁰ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XII, pp. 592, 711, Vol. XIII, p. 518; White's Money and Banking, p. 117.

The result, of course, was to give national banks a monopoly of the issue of bank notes. The new bank law thus did three things: created a market for United States bonds; gave the Federal government control of the amount of bank notes to be issued; and furnished to the people a uniform and well-protected paper currency.⁹¹

MONEY IN IOWA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The money in circulation in Iowa during the war was made up largely of the notes of the State Bank, greenbacks, national bank notes, and, in limited amounts, gold and silver coins. Because of the Federal tax on State bank notes, the greenbacks and national bank notes gradually displaced the State Bank notes, so that by the close of the Civil War, the money in Iowa was almost entirely Federal in its origin. Coins of the United States and greenbacks were, for most purposes, legal tender by Federal law.

The status of the State bank notes and national bank notes was not fixed by the United States, but in March, 1864, the Iowa General Assembly passed a law authorizing and requiring county treasurers to receive for taxes, in addition to the coins and legal tender greenbacks, notes of the national banks established by authority of the law of February 25, 1863, and notes issued by the branches of the State Bank of Iowa, but these State Bank notes were not to be so received after any branch should fail to redeem its notes. The county treasurers, however, were forbidden to exchange specie for notes and specie received for State taxes must be paid over to the State Treasurer. 92

About a week after the adoption of the above law, the General Assembly enacted another law, which so far as

⁹¹ Conant's A History of Modern Banks of Issue, pp. 397, 400, 401, 407; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XII, Ch. 58, pp. 665-682, Vol. XIII, Ch. 106, pp. 99-118.

⁹² Laws of Iowa, 1864, Ch. 43, pp. 42, 43.

Iowa was concerned, ended the circulation of "wild cat" money. This law read as follows:

That whoever shall within this State, after the fourth day of July next, pay out, or offer to pay, or in any manner put in circulation or offer to put in circulation, any bank note, bill or other instrument intended to circulate as money, issued or purporting to be issued by any bank, individual or corporation in any other State, district or Territory within the United States or in any foreign country, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction before any court having jurisdiction, be fined the sum of five dollars for each note, bill or other instrument as aforesaid, so paid out or offered to be paid out, put in circulation or offered to be put in circulation.

This did not apply to Treasury notes, national bank notes, any other currency issued by authority of Congress, nor to notes of the State Bank of Iowa.⁹³

This act met with bitter opposition from private bankers and brokers who, in spite of the effect of worthless bank notes, still found it profitable to buy up issues of bank notes in other States, often at a considerable discount, and put them in circulation through produce buyers and in the form of loans. Thus the least reliable money was still being paid out to the farmers and the borrowers — the classes least able to afford risks and least able to judge the value of bank notes. With the adoption of this act, the profit on "shady money" ended. How much the people in Iowa lost in poor money between 1838 and 1864 it is impossible to say, but it must have been in the hundreds of thousands of dollars.⁹⁴

With the advent of the national bank notes, Treasury notes, and greenbacks, and the prohibitory tax on State bank notes, the control of paper currency passed definitely

⁹³ Laws of Iowa, 1864, Ch. 53, pp. 56, 57.

⁹⁴ Gue's History of Iowa, Vol. II, p. 106.

from the States to the United States. Debate has raged upon such questions as "resumption of specie payments", "demonetization of silver", "the gold standard", "free silver", "greenbacks", "inflation", "the controlled dollar", and "the commodity dollar", but whether there has been much or little money, whether it has been gold or silver, fiat, representative, or credit, the money in circulation in Iowa has, since the Civil War, been Federal in origin and control. If money is to come "out of a hat" as the scrip did in the fifties, then the hat must be in Washington and not in Iowa.

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TOWA CITY IOWA

THE MYSTERY OF THE IOWA BUFFALO

No other wild animal appeals to the imagination of the typical American as does the buffalo — more properly the American bison. No other wild beast is so clearly associated with the plains Indian. As J. A. Allen has said, the bison was "at once the largest and most important animal to the aboriginal tribes of this continent, as it was also the most numerous over the immense region it frequented".1

That the buffalo was at one time to be found all over Iowa appears no longer to be seriously disputed. In the old lake beds of the State, skulls and various other parts of the skeletons of the American bison have been discovered in large numbers. Of great importance in this connection were the findings of Bohumil Shimek in Harrison and Monona counties, where in miry creeks bison remains were found in large quantities. There were also buffalo wallows.

Stories are told of another prairie oddity for which the bison is said to have been responsible. At certain places a wide stretch of grass was found to contain concentric circles of weeds. Pioneers explained this by saying that a group of buffaloes, standing with their heads together in their attempts to free themselves from the flies, had stamped their feet so constantly that the prairie grass had been worn away, and in its place weeds had grown.²

¹ Allen's The American Bisons, Living and Extinct, p. 71. The names "buffalo" and "bison" are here used interchangeably.

² Osborn's The Recently Extinct and Vanishing Animals of Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 563-565; Van Hyning and Pellett's An Annotated Catalogue of the Recent Mammals of Iowa in Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science, 1910, Vol. XVII, p. 216; Shimek's Geology of Harrison and Monona Counties in the Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XX, pp. 407-410; History of Muscatine County (Western Historical Company Publishers), p. 562.

The region now occupied by Iowa was not by any means the eastern limit of the buffalo: the range of the noble animal extended eastward at least as far as the Alleghany Mountains. Just east of the Mississippi, in the territory now included in Illinois, there is abundant evidence that buffalo were at one time prevalent.³

But if the former presence of the buffalo in Iowa is no longer doubted, there are other questions pertaining to it which are of almost equal interest and importance. How numerous were the buffalo in Iowa? Were there large herds of them here comparable to those of the great plains, or were they present on a much smaller scale? When did they disappear? How many were left at the time of Iowa's settlement? Finally, what were the causes of their disappearance?

It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to answer these questions conclusively. With the data available this would be impossible. It is rather the intent of the writer to suggest possible explanations, thereby stimulating further discussion of this unusually interesting and baffling problem.

While there may have been herds of buffalo in Iowa comparable to those farther west, conclusive historical evidence to this is lacking. Marquette said of the buffalo, "They are scattered about the [Iowa] prairie in herds; I have seen one of 400." It must be remembered, however, that the buffalo was essentially a migratory animal, and it is quite possible that the herds encountered by these explorers were simply "on the march". But even if they were native to Iowa, there is no reason for believing that the herds in general were anything like as large as those farther westward.

³ Allen's The American Bisons, pp. 116, 117; Cory's Mammals of Illinois and Wisconsin, pp. 90-93.

⁴ Thwaites's The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. LIX, pp. 111, 113; Gue's History of Iowa, Vol. I, p. 119.

Again, if the buffalo had been even moderately numerous in Iowa, it would appear that there would be some record of a trade in buffalo hides between the Indians and the French or other whites. That buffalo hides were bartered by the Indians to those of European extraction is certain, but the writer has searched in vain for specific proof that the Indians who inhabited Iowa carried on a trade in buffalo hides.

Wm. T. Hornaday — second only perhaps to J. A. Allen as an authority with respect to the bison — while modestly disclaiming the ability to cope authoritatively with our puzzling problem, writes as follows in a personal letter: "From the meagre evidence available, it is my opinion that in Iowa the bison never were very numerous. The evidence on this point is of a negative character. So far as I am aware, there are no historic records proving that the state of Iowa ever was inhabited by immense herds running up into the hundreds and thousands of individuals, as was the rule in western Nebraska and Kansas, and further west. I think it reasonable to regard the bison that inhabited the middle states east of Omaha and Kansas City merely as the outposts and straggling advance guards of the great herds."

It is argued, on the other hand, that the large quantities of the remains of the bison found in this State, to which reference has already been made, point to their former presence here in numbers possibly comparing favorably with those on the great plains. These remains have invariably been found in the beds of creeks and in other places whither the bison had gone to satisfy their thirst or escape the heat. These specimens, moreover, are almost entirely those of the older males, the lighter females and calves hav-

⁵ Hunter's Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, pp. 277, 287.

ing apparently been more successful in extricating themselves from the mud and mire of the ponds and creeks.

The presence of the remains of so many of the old bulls—animals constituting the minority of the herd—suggests that the whole number of the buffalo which at one time roamed the Iowa prairies must have been large. That remains are not found on the prairies themselves is to be explained by the rapid disintegration of the carcasses of the beasts subjected to the many changes of weather.

But whether or not the buffalo were here at one time in great numbers, it is certain that by the time of Iowa's settlement by the whites, the animals had virtually disappeared. The date of the disappearance of the buffalo from eastern and southern Iowa is placed at about 1825, but it is not improbable that an occasional herd of bison passed through these sections after that time. Indeed, we have the word of Dr. P. J. Farnsworth, who in 1898 was professor emeritus in the medical department of the State University of Iowa, that in 1837 some United States troops journeying from Council Bluffs to Prairie du Chien were delayed for two days just west of the Mississippi River, on account of a great herd of buffalo which was proceeding northward across their line of march. And "a drove of nearly a hundred buffaloes" is reported to have been seen in Franklin County. In this connection, however, it is important to bear in mind the pronounced migratory tendencies of the buffalo, referred to above.7

But the virtual disappearance of the buffalo from eastern and southern Iowa by the time of the coming of the white

⁶ Shimek's Geology of Harrison and Monona Counties in the Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XX, pp. 407-410.

⁷ Allen's The American Bisons, pp. 142, 144; Hornaday's The Extermination of the American Bison in the Report of the United States National Museum, 1887, map showing distribution of the buffalo opposite p. 548; Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XIV, pp. 383, 384; Stuart's History of Franklin County, Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 91, 92.

settlers is well attested by the pioneers themselves and by their chroniclers. As early as 1835 Albert Miller Lea, writing of the eastern Iowa territory, observed that the "domestic ox" had taken the place of the "untamed bison", but he added, there were still "some buffalo within reach." John B. Newhall, discussing eastern Iowa in 1841, declared: "The buffalo is no more found in or near the surveyed parts of Iowa. Even the Indians on our border have to go fifteen or twenty days' hunt before they can find this animal."

"The early settlers did not get here in time to find the buffalo", states a history of Marshall County. And two pioneers of Story County declared that the bison "were of the past, when we located here." Nor were buffalo found by the first settlers of Jasper County, though evidences of their former presence were not lacking.

In the southern and southwestern parts of the State the records are similar. In a history of Madison County, for example, is the following statement: "Not one wild buffalo was ever seen in Madison County since the day of its first settlement." According to the records, the last buffalo was seen in Montgomery County in 1856. Joe H. Smith, a local chronicler, believes that only one buffalo was ever seen by white settlers in Harrison County, and that in the year 1863.

But it is agreed that the buffalo lingered later in the northwestern section of Iowa. J. A. Allen believes the bi-

⁸ Lea's Notes on Wisconsin Territory reprinted in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. XI, pp. 126, 127; Newhall's Sketches of Iowa, p. 28; Battin and Moscrip's Past and Present of Marshall County Iowa, Vol. I, p. 109; Payne's History of Story County Iowa, Vol. I, p. 172; Weaver's Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa, Vol. I, p. 62.

⁹ Mueller's History of Madison County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I, p. 176; History of Montgomery County, Iowa (Iowa Historical and Biographical Company, Publishers), p. 407; Smith's History of Harrison County, Iowa, pp. 123, 124.

son to have been "quite numerous" in this part of Iowa and adjacent Minnesota as late as the forties. In keeping with this opinion is the statement of another Allen—Captain James Allen of the United States Army, in charge of the company of dragoons which passed through what is now Lyon County in 1844—who wrote: "We might have killed hundreds [of bison] by delaying for the purpose".10

Even as late as the early fifties, according to C. W. Irish of Iowa City, "west of the river Des Moines herds of buffalo roamed at will over the green grassy slopes of Iowa". And Mr. N. Levering, writing of the early settlement of northwestern Iowa, includes the buffalo among those animals which "abounded" in Woodbury County in 1848.

J. A. Allen gives 1869 as the date of the final disappearance of the buffalo from northwestern Iowa. There is record, however, of two buffaloes having been seen in Dickiuson County in 1870, but no record has been found that any buffalo have been seen or killed anywhere in Iowa after this date. The only buffalo known to have been killed in Kossuth County was shot by William H. Ingham in 1855. was one of a small herd. In Palo Alto County two buffaloes The "last buffalo" in Pocahontas were seen in 1858. County was killed in 1863. Writing as late as 1869, however, A. R. Fulton tells us that an occasional buffalo was still to be seen in O'Brien, Ida, and Buena Vista counties. The substantial agreement of the county historians of the various sections of Iowa strengthens the value of the records they have left us.12

¹⁰ Allen's The American Bisons, p. 144; Pelzer's Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley, p. 113.

¹¹ Irish's Some Pioneer Preachers of Iowa in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XII, p. 558; Levering's Recollections of the Early Settlement of N. W. Iowa in the Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. VII, p. 301.

¹² Allen's The American Bisons, p. 144; Smith's A History of Dickinson County, Iowa, pp. 380, 381; Ingham's Ten Years on the Iowa Frontier, chap-

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In view of the uncertainty respecting the buffalo in early Iowa, it is not surprising that there exists no well-established theory in explanation of the disappearance of the buffalo from Iowa. In attempting to formulate a theory, it will be logical first to examine briefly into the causes of the passing of the buffalo from two other sections of the country they are known to have inhabited — the territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River, on the one hand, and the Great Plains region, east of the Rocky Mountains, on the other.

The usual explanation of the disappearance of the buffalo east of the Mississippi is that the "lord of the plains" had been constantly pressed back farther and farther westward by the advance of civilization. Joseph Leidy, an American naturalist and physiologist, speaks of the buffalo as having "gradually retired westward in advance of the migrating columns of the white race of man". With this view Spencer Fullerton Baird, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1859, was in substantial agreement, as was John Sterling Kingsley, editor of *The Standard Natural History*.¹³

J. A. Allen, however, is of the opinion that the buffalo east of the Mississippi were actually exterminated, for he argues that the buffalo "appears to have existed in West Virginia and in Eastern Kentucky to quite as late, or even to a later period, than on the prairies adjoining the Mississippi." And Wm. T. Hornaday believes that the consistent hunting of the buffalo by the settlers east of the Mississippi was instrumental in bringing about the gradual extermi-

ter on "Hunting Buffalo in Iowa"; McCarty's History of Palo Alto County, Iowa, p. 24; Flickinger's The Pioneer History of Pocahontas County, Iowa, p. 220; Fulton's The Free Lands in Iowa, pp. 24, 25, 33.

¹³ Leidy's Memoir on the Extinct Species of American Ox, p. 4, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. V; Baird's Mammals of North America, p. 684; Kingsley's The Standard Natural History, Vol. V, p. 317.

nation of the animals in this region. In view of the early settlers' dependence upon wild game for food, the buffalo's extermination east of the Mississippi, as Hornaday points out, was "inevitable".14

There is, however, more substantial agreement as to the reason for the disappearance of the buffalo from the plains west of the Missouri and east of the Rocky Mountains. The buffalo roamed in vast herds throughout this area long after they had disappeared from other parts of the United States. Scientists do not question that in this region they were exterminated by the hand of man. The Indian and the white hunter were directly responsible. The great demand for the buffalo hides and the buffalo tongues — the latter the choicest part of the meat of the animal — was indirectly responsible.¹⁵

But these explanations are unsatisfactory in the solution of the problem of the disappearance of the buffalo from Iowa. The "march of civilization"—the coming of the white man—obviously could not have materially affected the situation here, for the buffalo had virtually disappeared from Iowa before the coming of the white settlers. Moreover, the demand for buffalo hides and tongues which resulted, as we have seen, in the systematic slaughter of the buffalo on the plains to the West, did not become a sub-

14 Allen's The American Bisons, pp. 117, 118; Hornaday's The Extermination of the American Bison in the Report of the United States National Museum, 1887, pp. 484-489. The bison, says Hornaday, served "a good purpose at a critical period. His huge bulk of toothsome flesh fed many a hungry family, and his ample robe did good service in the settler's cabin and sleigh in winter weather."

15 Allen's The American Bisons, pp. 184-186; Hornaday's The Extermination of the American Bison in the Report of the United States National Museum, 1887, pp. 486-489. Allen estimates the number of bison killed by the the Indians for the hide and tongue trade alone to have been nearly two millions annually during this period. Hornaday describes the extermination of the bison throughout the Great Plains region as "perhaps the most gigantic task ever undertaken on this continent in the line of game-slaughter".

stantial factor in the extermination of the animals until about 1820 — by which time, judging from the reports of settlers who came here not very long after this date, the buffalo must have largely disappeared from Iowa. 16

It is, then, evident that the white man was responsible neither directly nor indirectly for the disappearance of the bison from Iowa, as was largely the case with respect to other sections of the country inhabited by the bison. For a solution to our problem, then, we must consider other forces or factors.

There were, in the first place, certain elements of nature against which the buffalo was ever contending. Among these were the wolves. Allen regards these animals as having been the greatest natural enemy of the buffalo, yet he points out that the wolves attacked chiefly old and disabled animals. Because of this fact, some naturalists believe that the general effect of the depredations of the wolves was actually to strengthen, rather than to weaken, the buffalo herds, since the younger and more vigorous members of the herd were thereby relieved of the burden of the aged and the weak.¹⁷

Another natural element with which the buffalo had to contend was the prairie fire. Alexander Henry has left us a graphic description of the plight of the buffalo under such conditions. "Plains burned in every direction and blind buffalo seen every moment wandering about. The poor beasts have all the hair singed off; even the skin in many places is shriveled up and terribly burned, and their eyes are swollen and closed fast. . . . We arrived at the Indian camp, having made an extraordinary day's ride, and

¹⁶ Hornaday's The Extermination of the American Bison in the Report of the United States National Museum, 1887, p. 487.

¹⁷ Allen's The American Bisons, p. 67; Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 390; Grinnell's The Last of the Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XII, p. 277.

seen an incredible number of dead and dying, blind, lame, singed, and roasted buffalo."18

Another difficulty faced by the buffalo in the Iowa territory was the prolonged snow of the winters and the lack of grass during four or five months of the year. Unlike the grass of the western plains area, the prairie grass when killed by the frost was lacking in nutritive value, while that of the west retained its food value no matter how dry it became. Consequently both the deep snow and the inferior food even where the grass was uncovered tended to discourage the collection of large herds of bison in this region. Usually such herds would have been compelled to go either north or west during the winter to find sustenance.

Probably the most destructive of the natural forces in relation to the buffalo was the treacherous ice of the rivers. As has been already remarked, the buffalo was essentially migratory. His migrations were both periodic and erratic, often necessitating the frequent crossing of rivers. Even in winter the great weight of a herd upon the ice would cause disasters. But in the spring, when the ice though seemingly as strong was in reality much weaker, the destruction from this cause was often appalling, sometimes causing the loss of half the herd.¹⁹

Other natural enemies of the buffalo were unusually severe winters, treacherous bogs, and quicksand. Epidemic disease seems not to have been prevalent among the animals.²⁰

¹⁸ Coues's The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 253, 254. See also Hunter's Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, pp. 279, 280.

¹⁹ Audubon and Bachman's Quadrupeds of North America, Vol. II, p. 38; Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL p. 393; Allen's The American Bisons, p. 62.

²⁰ Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, pp. 390, 392; Audubon and Bachman's Quadrupeds of North America, Vol. II, p. 36.

Although not all naturalists are fully in accord with Ernest Thompson Seton's statement that "the destruction by nature's own means was so great that the buffalo were barely holding their own in the long fight", still it is readily conceivable that if the buffalo which inhabited Iowa were only stragglers or small herds, these natural forces alone would in time have brought about their extermination.²¹

But aiding and abetting these natural forces was another factor. This was the Indian. If the buffalo did exist in Iowa in herds so large that natural forces alone did not result in their extermination, then by the process of elimination the Indian must have been instrumental in bringing about the bison's disappearance from Iowa.

Traditionally the Indian was not a wanton destroyer of the buffalo. The animal was almost life itself to the redman. Every part of the animal was valuable to him. He used the hide as clothing and for many other purposes; the horns as spoons; the flesh as food; the sinews for thread and bow-strings; and the shoulder blades as hoes. Even the scrapings from the skins are said to have been boiled with berries, making a jelly which some of the tribes considered good food.²²

Thus, it is argued, since the buffalo was such an essential factor in the life of the Indian, the latter knew better than to slaughter the animal beyond his needs.²³

But while the majority of the authorities hold this view, it is not unanimous. One of those who did not agree with

²¹ Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 393.

²² Audubon and Bachman's Quadrupeds of North America, Vol. II, pp. 50, 51.

²³ Kingsley's The Standard Natural History, Vol. V, pp. 318, 319; Moorhend's The American Indian in the United States, p. 308; Audubon and Bachman's Quadrupeds of North America, Vol. II, pp. 50, 51; Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 392.

the general opinion wrote: "It is commonly supposed that it is the white man only who kills and wastes buffalo. I do not think that this is entirely the case, as an Indian is not always particular about using all the meat that is killed. Buffalo are frequently killed by Indian war-parties, who take what may be needed as food, but the rest of the carcass falls to the lot of the wolves and ravens, that are sure to be ready to take such leavings of the Indians."

Some authorities emphasize the significance of the acquisition of guns and horses by the Indians. "As soon as the Indian acquired firearms and horses", we are told, "he indulged his passion for slaughter, and on his own account killed the animals off more rapidly than their numbers were replenished by natural increase".²⁵

Moreover, the methods used by the Indians, in hunting the buffalo, even before the period of systematic extermination, were fraught with dire possibilities. Early French explorers tell how the Indians set fire to all except a small part of a wide stretch of prairie thereby forcing the bison to collect on the unburned section. Thus concentrated, their slaughter would not be difficult. Lewis and Clark observed that in the spring when the ice of the rivers was weakening, the Indians would set fire to the dry grass on one bank. This would lead the buffalo to seek the vegetation on the opposite shore. While crossing the river, however, the ice would invariably give way, the buffaloes then falling an easy prey to their pursuers.

²⁴ Davis's The Buffalo Range in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 153. Even Hunter admits that the Indians were more likely to slay the calves and fallow cows than the others of the herd.—Hunter's Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, p. 279. See also Trexler's The Buffalo Range of the Northwest in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. VII, p. 360.

²⁵ Cowan's The Trail of the Hide Hunter in The Outing Magazine, Vol. LIX, p. 156; Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 392.

Another method of killing buffalo in large numbers often used by the Indians involved a decoy. A young Indian, disguised as a buffalo by the ingenious use of the skin of the latter, would take a position not far from a buffalo herd. Other Indians then aroused the herd which then often rushed in the direction of the decoy who led them to a precipice, himself taking refuge in some previously planned place. The herd—due to the great pressure from behind - was frequently unable to stop and was hurled to destruction on the rocks below. The bison which were not killed outright could soon be despatched by the Indians.26

These methods have been briefly described because they were known to have been used by the Indians in general and must have played their part in the extermination of the buffalo in Iowa provided the herds were here in sufficiently large numbers to make the use of such methods practicable.

But perhaps the Indians did not actually exterminate the bison in Iowa. In this case the explanation of the disappearance of the buffalo not infrequently given by the early settlers would appear to be reasonable. "The Buffalo has taken his march for the Rocky Mountains", wrote the Reverend James L. Scott in 1843, "and is not found roaming upon the cultivated prairies. We were informed that they kept their march for the wilderness in advance of the Indians." "There was everything but buffalo", wrote a wild-life enthusiast of Washington County in the pioneer days. "Indians had chased them [the bison] seventy-five to one hundred miles west of us". And S. H. M. Byers, an Iowan of the early forties, wrote that the "Indians had driven the buffaloes away".27

²⁶ Allen's The American Bisons, pp. 202, 204, 205.

²⁷ Scott's A Journal of a Missionary Tour, p. 154; Burrell's History of Washington County Iowa, p. 98; Byers's Out West in the Forties in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. V, p. 369.

Nor is this popular explanation of the buffalo's disappearance entirely without scientific support. Ernest Thompson Seton refers to James Mooney's well-established theory that the Sioux Indians, originating on the Atlantic Coast, migrated westward over the Alleghanies and eventually across the Mississippi. "They were following the Buffalo. . . . They have followed them long and far." The idea that the buffalo of Iowa were frightened by the Indians into going farther west is also suggested by Dr. Hornaday.²⁸

Thus, aside from the main fact — now firmly established — that the buffalo did formerly exist in Iowa, but had virtually disappeared by the time of the coming of the white settlers, no other important facts relative to our problem are at present absolutely certain. The following conclusions, however, though not final, may properly be deduced.

First, it is unlikely that the buffalo ever existed in Iowa in herds comparable in size to those of the plains region. On the contrary, it is probable that the buffalo found in Iowa were migratory herds and stragglers.

Second, the white man can not be held directly, or even indirectly, responsible for the disappearance of the bison from Iowa. Natural forces and the Indian are the factors to be held to account for the passing of the buffalo from the region now occupied by the Hawkeye State.²⁹

H. Arnold Bennett

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²⁸ Seton's The American Bison or Buffalo in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 405.

²⁹ [Since this article was submitted to the State Historical Society of Iowa for publication, E. Douglas Branch has published a volume entitled *The Hunting of the Buffalo* (D. Appleton Company, 1929). Although this book does not specifically treat of the presence of the buffalo in what is now Iowa, it has considerable information on the existence of these animals east of the Mississippi River and much interesting material on the methods of hunting buffalo.—The Editor.]

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Minnnesota in the War with Germany, Volume II. By Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel. Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1932. Pp. 290. Plates. The first volume of this war history, by the same authors, was published in 1928, and dealt with the military activities of Minnesota men. It included such subjects as: recruiting, the draft, training at Fort Snelling and the William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute, the air service mechanics school, the Students' Army Training Corps, Minnesota national guard units, and Minnesotans at Camp Dodge. The second volume, just published, deals with the mobilization of non-military agencies, including public opinion, the Red Cross, the seven welfare agencies, food production and conservation, the fuel problem, finance, and industrial efficiency. An index to both volumes is included in the second volume. Both are attractively printed and illustrated and both were edited by Solon J. Buck.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for September, 1933, includes Memoirs of George William Bruce, Ch. III, and under the head of Documents, The Journal of Mrs. Peter Martineau.

A second edition of a bibliography on Agriculture of the American Indians, compiled by Everett E. Edwards, has been published by the United States Department of Agriculture. This is No. 23 in Bibliographical Contributions.

Nebraska Archaeology, by Earl H. Bell; The Cahokia Mound Group and Its Surface Material, by P. F. Titterington; and Copper Spearpoints from Reedsburg, Wisconsin Dells, by Milton F. Hulburt, are the three articles in The Wisconsin Archeologist for October, 1933.

Mike Fink in Missouri, by C. B. Spotts; The Boonslick Road in St. Charles County, Pt. II, by Kate L. Gregg; Abiel Leonard, Pt. 74

IV, by Frederic A. Culmer; and Joseph B. McCullagh, Pt. XIII, by Walter B. Stevens, are the contributions printed in The Missouri Historical Review for October, 1933.

Volume nineteen of the Indiana Historical Collections, by George Pence and Nellie C. Armstrong, has for its general theme Indiana Boundaries. It includes an article by Miss Armstrong, Outline of Boundary Legislation, and a series of maps of the boundaries of the Territory, the State, and the various counties.

The Government of the Oberlin Colony, by Robert S. Fletcher; The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson, by William D. Gould; Asa Whitney and His Pacific Railroad Publicity Campaign, by Margaret L. Brown; The Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, by Avery O. Craven; and Sergeant John Smith's Diary of 1776, a document edited by Louise Rau, are the articles and papers in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for September, 1933.

The Comment of British Travelers on Early American Terms Relating to Agriculture, by Allen Walker Read; History and Significance of the Foreign Plant Introduction Work of the United States Department of Agriculture, by Knowles A. Ryerson; and The Cattle Trade on Puget Sound, 1858–1890, by J. Orin Oliphant, are the three articles in Agricultural History for July, 1933. There is also a short biographical sketch of Ellen Churchill Semple.

The American Historical Review for October, 1933, contains three long articles: England and Dunkirk, by Clyde L. Grose; The Depression of 1819-1822, a Social History, by Samuel Rezneck; and Belgian Neutrality: its Origin and Interpretation, by William E. Lingelbach. Shorter articles include The Introduction of Phrenology to the United States, by Robert E. Riegel; Ex-President Cleveland Invited to Head the Counsel for the Venezuelan Arbitration, by A. Bower Sageser; and A Chinese Official's Experiences During the First Opium War, a document contributed by Gussie Esther Gaskill. A supplement contains a list of the members of the American Historical Association.

Minnesota History for June, 1933, contains a series of addresses on The Emergence of the North Star State, including The Creation of the Territory, by Donald E. Van Koughnet; The Day of the Pionecr, by Theodore C. Blegen; Frontier Education, by Lois M. Fawcett; Early Transportation and Admission to the Union, both by Arthur J. Larsen; and The Heritage of Minnesota, by Governor Floyd B. Olson. There are also reprints from newspapers under the title Minnesota Statehood Editorials. The number for September includes: Mythical Cities of Southwestern Minnesota, by Robert J. Forrest; Keeping House on the Minnesota Frontier, by Evadene A. Burris; The Asiatic Cholera in St. Paul, by John M. Armstrong; and A Pioneer Family of the Middle Border, by Ida Pickett Bell.

Illinois Highways, 1700-1848, by Josephine Boylan; Some Thoughts on Lincoln's Presidency, by Thomas Ewing; An Illinois Farmer During the Civil War: Extracts from the Journal of John Edward Young; Some Factors in the Americanization of the Swedish Immigrant, 1850-1890, by Fritiof Ander; and Who Built Monk's Mound?, by W. H. Whitlock, are the articles in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for April-July, 1933. The issue for October, 1933, contains the following articles: Lincoln and Douglas, by Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed; The First Printers of Illinois, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; The Political Career of William A. Richardson, by Robert D. Holt; A Pioneer in Lee County. Illinois, The Autobiography of Charles Francis Ingals, edited by Lydia Colby; and One Hundredth Anniversary of Rock Island County, by Clinton Searle.

The June, 1933, number of the Indiana Magazine of History contains the following articles and papers: Vincennes and the Old Northwest, by Governor Paul V. McNutt; The Lyccum in the Early West, by Leslie H. Mecks; Prehistoric American Diet, by Glen A. Black; Kingdom Church, by Donald F. Carmony; Early History of Vincennes University, by Howard R. Burnett; and Stories That Old Houses Tell, by Julia LeClerc Knox. An account of the work of the Indiana Historical Society is presented by Christopher B.

Coleman and a document — Home Letters of George W. Julian, 1850-1851, by Grace Julian Clarke. The First National Pastime in the Middle West, the story of local military companies, written by Theodore G. Gronert; The Western Association of Writers, by George S. Cottman; Old Landmarks of Goshen, by H. S. K. Bartholomew; The Shipley Ancestry of Lincoln's Mother, by Louis A. Warren; and Caleb Blood Smith, by Louis J. Bailey, are the articles in the September, 1933, issue.

IOWANA

A family history of some interest to Iowans, especially those of Dutch descent, is the *Genealogy and History of the Zwemer-Boon Family*, recorded by Adrian Zwemer and prepared for publication by his son, Samuel M. Zwemer. Rev. Adrian Zwemer was pastor of a church at Middleburg, Iowa, from 1886 to 1891.

The Medical von Lackums, by H. J. von Lackum, and a continuation of The History of Medicine in Lucas County, by Tom Morford Throckmorton and Tom Bentley Throckmorton, are two articles of historical interest in The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society for August, 1933. The History of Medicine in Lucas County is continued in the issues for September, October, and November.

The Beginnings of Printing in Iowa, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; A Prisoner of War, a diary by Lieutenant L. W. Jackson; New Chicago, by H. E. Perkins; James Madison Broadwell — A Genealogical Note, by Philip D. Jordan; and A Dubuque County Immigrant from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, by Elizabeth Nennig, are the contributions in the Annals of Iowa for July, 1933. The October issue contains: William Savage, Iowa Pioneer, Diarist and Painter of Birds; The First Judge of Iowa [David Irvin]; An Original Study of Mesquakie (Fox) Life; Judith Ellen Foster, by David C. Mott; Traveling to the Middle West in 1838; and A History of the Des Moines Post Office, by Ilda Hammer.

The Agricultural Emergency in Iowa is a reprint of ten articles by members of the Staff in Economics of Iowa State College which

originally appeared in the Circulars of the Agricultural Experiment Station during 1932 and 1933. The chapters and their authors are as follows: The Crisis in the Fall of 1932, by A. G. Black; The Causes of the Emergency, by Geoffrey Shepherd; The Iowa Tax Situation, by John A. Hopkins, Jr.; The Iowa Farm Mortgage Problem and Farm Mortgage Foreclosures, by William G. Murray and Ronald C. Bentley; The Voluntary Domestic Allotment Plan, by Theodore W. Schultz and A. G. Black; Control of the General Price Level and Monetary Inflation, by Geoffrey Shepherd and Wallace Wright; How Tariffs Affect Farm Prices and Shrink Agriculture or Shift Tariff Protected Industries, both by Theodore W. Schultz.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aitken, Walter W.,

Poisoning of Fish (Science, July 21, 1933).

Aldrich, Bess Streeter.

Miss Bishop. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1933.

Anderson, H. R., (Joint author)

Achievement Tests in the Social Studies (The Educational Record, April, 1933).

Arnold, Ralph,

Treaty-making Procedure. New York: Oxford Book Company. 1933.

Beer, Thomas,

Mrs. Egg and Other Barbarians. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1933.

Bentley, Ronald C., (Joint author)

Corporate-Owned Land in Iowa (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 307). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1933.

Betts, George Herbert, (Joint author)

When We Join the Church. New York: Abingdon Press. **1**933.

- Blackmar, Beatrice, (Mrs. Bruce Gould) (Joint author)

 One of the James Boys (The Saturday Evening Post, November 18, 1933).
- Blakeslee, George Hubbard,

 Japanese Monroe Doctrine (Foreign Affairs, July, 1933).
- Bliven, Bruce,

 Roosevelt and the Radicals (The New Republic, July 12, 1933).
- Brant, Irving,

 Dollars and Sense. New York: John Day Company. 1933.
- Cook, Louis H.,

 I Have Six More Lives to Live (The American Magazine, October, 1933).
- Dell, Floyd,

 **Homecoming; an Autobiography. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. 1933.
- Delzell, Earl B.,

 Ansel Briggs Iowa Governor and Mason (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. and A. M., October, 1933).
- DuMont, Philip A.,

 A Revised List of the Birds of Iowa (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XV, No. 5). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.
- Dutton, Charles J.,

 America's Bankrupt Churches (Current History, October, 1933).
- Emhoff, Floy Lawrence,

 A Pioneer Doctor of Marshall County: Elmer Yocum Lawrence
 (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1933).
- Gallaher, Ruth A.,

 The First Hundred Years: A Brief History of Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1933).
- Glass, Remley J.,

 Gentlemen, The Corn Belt! (Harpers Magazine, July, 1933).

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Gould, Bruce, (Joint author)

One of the James Boys (The Saturday Evening Post, November 18, 1933).

Gould, William D.,

The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1933).

Guthe, Carl E., (Editor)

Archaeological Field Work in North America (American Anthropologist, July-September, 1933).

Hall, James Norman,

The Spirit of Place (The Atlantic, October, 1933).

Hall, James Norman, (Joint author)

Men Against the Sea (The Saturday Evening Post, November 18, 25, December 2, 1933).

Hammer, Ilda,

A History of the Des Moines Post Office (Annals of Iowa, October, 1933).

Haugen, Einar I.,

O. E. Rolvaag: Norwegian-American (Norwegian-American Studies and Records, Vol. VII).

Hoover, Theodore Jesse,

The Economics of Mining (Non-ferrous Metals); Valuation-Organization-Management. Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1933.

Hunt, C. C.,

The Badge of a Mason (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., October, 1933).

Shibboleth (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. &. A. M., September, 1933).

Ireland, C. H.,

The Current Crime Wave and Some of Its Causes (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, January, 1933).

Johnson, Mildred Edith,

The "Aucto del Castillo de Emaus" and the "Aucto de la Iglesia" of Juan Timoneda (University of Iowa Studies in Spanish Language and Literature, No. 4). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

Jones, Victor H.,

River (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XV, No. 4). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

Kelly, Helen Garside,

A Study of Individual Differences in Breathing Capacity in Relation to Some Physical Characteristics (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. VII, No. 5). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

Knibbs, Henry Herbert, (Joint author)

Gentlemen, Hush. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933.

Laird, Donald A.,

Disastrous Ambition (Hygeia, July, 1933).

Lechlitner, Ruth, (Mrs. Paul Corey)

Come Let Us Praise (poem) (The New Republic, June 14, 1933).

Lindquist, E. F., (Joint author)

Achievement Tests in the Social Studies (The Educational Record, April, 1933).

McCarty, H. H., (Joint author)

Meat Packing in Iowa (Iowa Studies in Business, No. XII).

Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

Malamud, Wm.,

The Organic Approach in the Study of Mental Diseases (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, January, 1933).

Maxwell, Baldwin,

Notes Toward Dating Fletcher's "Wit Without Money" (Philological Quarterly, October, 1933).

Medary, Marjorie,

Prairie Anchorage. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1933.

Meeker, Royal,

The Great American Adventure (The Alumnus of Iowa State College, October, 1933).

Miller, Paul L., (Joint author)

Cooperation in Agriculture Livestock Marketing (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 306). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1933.

Milligan, Lester,

Cement-bound Macadam Paid for in Mason City with Scrip (The American City, November, 1933).

Moorhead, Frank G.,

We Were 30 Years Getting Ready for Our Fire (Better Homes and Gardens, September, 1933).

Morrow, Honoré Willsie,

Argonaut. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1933.

Morrow, Honoré Willsie, (Joint author)

Ship's Monkey. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1933.

Mott, David C.,

Judith Ellen Foster (Annals of Iowa, October, 1933).

Murray, William G., (Joint author)

Corporate-Owned Land in Iowa (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 307). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1933.

Nennig, Elizabeth,

A Dubuque County Immigrant from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg (Annals of Iowa, July, 1933).

Norem, G. M., (Joint author)

Studies in the Psychology of Learning (University of Iowa

Studies in Education, Vol. VIII, No. 6). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

Noyes, William Albert,

Laissez Faire or Cooperation (The Scientific Monthly, June, 1933).

Science and Religion (The Tanager, March, 1933).

Ohlmacher, J. C.,

The Treatment of the Physical Ills of the Insane at State Institutions (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, January, 1933).

Parish, John Carl,

California Through Four Centuries (Illustrated Hand List of the Huntington Library). 1933.

Patrick, George T. W.,

The New Burden on Behavior (The Scientific Monthly, October, 1933).

Pearson, Raymond Allen,

Everyone Must Eat to Live (Review of Reviews, July, 1933).

Perkins, H. E.,

New Chicago (Annals of Iowa, July, 1933).

Petersen, William J.,

The Burlington Comes (The Palimpsest, November, 1933).

The Grand Excursion of 1854 (The Palimpsest, August, 1933).

The Illinois Central Comes (The Palimpsest, October, 1933).

The North Western Comes (The Palimpsest, September, 1933).

The Rock Island Comes (The Palimpsest, August, 1933).

Porter, Kirk H.,

A Plague of Special Districts (National Municipal Review, November, 1933).

Regur, Dorothy Wagner,

In the Bicycle Era (The Palimpsest, October, 1933).

Reuter, E. B., (Joint author)

Introduction to Sociology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1933.

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Robeson, George F.,

Restless Farmers (The Palimpsest, November, 1933).

Schaffter, Dorothy,

Governors' Messages and the Legislative Output in 1933 (The American Political Science Review, October, 1933).

Shepherd, Geoffrey,

Annual Fluctuations in the Price of Corn (Research Bulletin, No. 164). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1933.

Shepherd, Geoffrey, (Joint author)

Cooperation in Agriculture Livestock Marketing (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 306). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1933.

Sherlock, Chesla Clella,

Shelter for America (North American Review, August, 1933).

Sly, John F., (Joint author)

West Virginia S. O. S. (National Municipal Review, November, 1933).

Swisher, Jacob A.,

A Scientific Tour (The Palimpsest, November, 1933).

Thoma, Katherine Mitchell,

Food in Health and Disease. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company. 1933.

Thompson, C. Woody, (Joint author)

Meat Packing in Iowa (Iowa Studies in Business, No. XII). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

White, Trumbull,

Coming Storm Over Alaska (New Outlook, August, 1933).

Wiederaenders, M. F., (Joint author)

Studies in the Psychology of Learning (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. VIII, No. 6). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1933.

- Williamson, Thames Ross,

 Woods Colt. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1933.
- Wyman, Helen Bryant,

 Potter Christ (The Palimpsest, September, 1933).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

- Fight for county seat of Scott County, in the Davenport Democrat, June 13, 1933.
- Iowa's only narrow gauge railroad sold to E. C. Bradley of Minneapolis, in the *Jackson Sentinel*, June 13, 1933.
- Van Buren County courthouse is oldest in the State, in the Mt. Pleasant News, June 14, 1933.
- Pioneer cooking utensils, in the Davenport Times, June 15, 1933.
- The school at Colfax, in the Grundy Center Register, June 15, 1933.
- The fiftieth anniversary of the W. R. C., by Elizabeth Dayton, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, June 15, 1933.
- The cyclone at Brush Creek, in the Arlington News, June 15, 22, 1933.
- Preservation of newspaper files, by W. G. Ray, in the *Grinnell Herald*, June 16, 1933.
- Methodists celebrate hundredth anniversary, in the Des Moines Register, June 18, and the Decorah Public-Opinion, June 22, 1933.
- The movement for a monument to Julien Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Herald*, June 18, 1933.
- Buffalo was platted in 1836, in the Davenport Times, June 19, 1933.
- History of Fort Armstrong, by John W. Slattery, in the *Davenport Democrat*, June 21, 1933.
- The paper mill at Freeport, in the Decorah Journal, June 21, 1933.

- Sketch of the life of Robert G. Cousins, in the Des Moines Register, June 21, 25, the Cedar Rapids Gazette, June 21, and the Des Moines Tribune and Tipton Constitution, June 22, and the Traer Star-Clipper, July 7, 1933.
- Martha Strayer (Mrs. A. M. McIntosh) was the first white child born in Winneshiek County, in the *Independence Journal*, June 22, 1933.
- The Des Moines River land grant, in the Madrid Register, June 22, 1933.
- Early history of Muscatine, in the Muscatine Journal, June 24, 1933.
- Anniversaries in Iowa, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil and Waterloo Courier, June 25, 1933.
- Indians had camp near Hinton, in the Le Mars Post, June 26, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of C. L. Lucas, in the Madrid Register, June 29, 1933.
- Ellison Orr is collecting Indian relics, in the Waukon Democrat, June 28, 1933.
- The Methodist Episcopal Church at St. Charles is seventy-five years old, in the St. Charles News, June 29, July 6, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Warden Charles H. Ireland, in the *Anamosa Eureka*, June 29, 1933.
- The M. E. Church at Giard is eighty-five years old, in the McGregor Times, June 29, 1933.
- The Onawa Congregational Church celebrates diamond jubilee, in the Onawa Sentinel, June 29, 1933.
- The Pomeroy tornado happened forty years ago, in the *Pomeroy Herald*, June 29, 1933.
- Burial place of Joseph M. Street and Chief Wapello, in the Keo-sauqua Republican, June 29, 1933.

- Sketch of the life of Herbert Quick, in the Grundy Center Spokesman, June 29, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Ellis E. Wilson, in the Moville Mail, June 29, 1933.
- The history around the Okoboji lakes and Spirit Lake, by Hattie P. Elston, in the Spencer News, June 30, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Barton O. Aylesworth, in the Des Moines Tribune, July 1, 1933.
- Indian ceremonial pipes found in Mills County, by Paul Rowe, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, July 2, 1933.
- Reminiscences and sketches of Sioux City pioneers, by Fred Lewis, in the Sioux City Journal, July 4, 1933.
- The first school in Spring Valley, by Mrs. Frank W. Burrows, in the St. Ansgar Enterprise, July 5, and the Osage Press, July 6, 1933.
- Reminiscences of Black Hawk County, by Robert Leavitt, in the Cedar Falls Record, July 5, 1933.
- Arthur B. Thomas was second white child born in Cascade, in the Cascade Pioneer, July 6, 1933.
- Market prices in 1862, in the Ossian Bee, July 6, 1933.
- Indian relics near Sioux City discovered by Dr. C. B. Knowles, in the *Lime Springs Herald*, July 6, 1933.
- Early Washington County teachers, by Bernice Derby, in the Washington Journal, July 6, 1933.
- Indian skeletons found near McGregor, in the Washington Journal, the Centerville Iowegian, and the Boone Republican, July 7, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Jesse Macy, by Harvey Ingham, in the Des Moines Register, July 8, 1933.
- The celebration at Cedar Falls, in the Cedar Falls Record, July 8, 14, 1933.

- Beer was aged in sand caves at McGregor seventy years ago, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, July 9, 1933.
- Coeds of 1864 recalled by Mrs. Emma Sawyer, by Virginia Maxson, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, July 9, 1933.
- Spillville celebrates fortieth anniversary of Dvorak's visit, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, July 9, 1933.
- Some items in the history of Wapello County, in the Ottumwa Courier, July 10, 1933.
- S. M. Foote, Jr., finds points locating southern boundary of Neutral Ground, in the West Union Gazette, July 12, 19, and the Dubuque Herald, August 6, 1933.
- Old mills of Iowa, in the Waterloo Courier, July 13, 1933.
- Wm. Ritchie was lamp lighter on the Mississippi for fifty years, in the Sabula Gazette, July 13, 1933.
- Isaac Linder tells of pioneering experiences, in the New London Journal, July 13, 1933.
- The Dubuque centennial, in the Bellevue Leader, July 13, 1933.
- Prehistoric remains found in northeastern Iowa by Frank E. Ellis, in the *Des Moines Register*, July 16, and the *Maquoketa Sentinel*, July 18, 1933.
- The snakes of Tuller's Quarry, by Ellis E. Wilson, in the Waterloo Courier, July 16, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Clarence L. Ely, in the Maquoketa Sentinel, the Des Moines Tribune, the Muscatine Journal, and the Clinton Herald, July 18, 1933.
- The James B. Weaver homestead at Bloomfield, in the Bloomfield Republican, July 18, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Gilbert N. Haugen, in the Des Moines Register and the Charles City Press, July 19, and the Northwood Anchor, July 20, 1933.
- The Iowa Lakes, by Hattie P. Elston, in the Spirit Lake Beacon, July 20, 27, 1933.

- Some early history of Grundy County, by Wm. G. Kerr, in the Grundy Center Register, July 20, 21, 1933.
- Sioux County's first settlers, in the Hawarden Independent, July 20, 1933.
- Railroad celebration at Cedar Falls in 1861, in the Cedar Falls Record, July 21, August 10, 1933.
- Hauling grain to Clear Lake in early days, in the Britt News-Tribune, July 26, 1933.
- Genealogical data on Poweshiek County, by Mrs. F. R. Porter, in the *Grinnell Herald*, July 28, August 1, 15, September 5, 8, October 13, 25, November 7, 1933.
- Old times in Adel, by Frank L. Sweeley, in the *Dallas County* (Adel) *News*, August 2, 1933.
- Stories of Civil War days in Iowa, by Ed. Henderson, in the *Lake Mills Graphic*, August 2, 1933.
- The raid of Inkpaduta, told by F. I. Herriott, in the *Milford Mail*, August 3, and the *Spencer News*, August 4, 1933.
- Reminiscences of Rochester, in the West Branch Times, August 3, 1933.
- Genealogical data for Washington County, by Mrs. C. A. Speer, in the Washington Democrat, August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, September 7, 14, 21, 28, October 5, 12, 19, 26, November 2, and the Washington Journal, September 30, October 7, 1933.
- Hiram Hammond and his grist mill, by B. L. Wick, in the *LeGrand Reporter*, August 4, 1933.
- The Old Mission in Allamakee County, by Mrs. Will Deeny, in the *Dubuque Herald*, August 6, 1933.
- Cedar Falls Banner started in 1854, in the Waterloo Courier, August 6, 1933.
- W. L. Bass has collection of Indian relics, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, August 7, 1933.

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- Selling hogs and cattle in Delaware County in the forties, by Clarence Cox, in the *Dubuque Herald*, August 9, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Peter Laurentius Larsen, in the Decorah Public-Opinion, August 10, 1933.
- The story of the town of Nira, in the Washington Democrat-Independent, August 10, 1933.
- Early history of Paullina, in the Paullina Times, August 17, 1933.
- Early days in Jackson County, in the Bellevue Leader, August 17, 1933.
- Tornadoes in Washington County, by Marjorie Robertson, in the Washington Journal, August 19, 1933.
- Buffalo is one hundred years old, in the Davenport Democrat, August 21, 1933.
- When the State Fair was held at Fairfield, in the Ottumwa Courier, August 22, 1933.
- Robert E. Lee surveyed Des Moines River, by Harold T. Garvey, in the Keokuk Gate City, August 23, 1933.
- Reminiscences of Hancock County, by Mrs. Rebecca Gerdes, in the Britt New-Tribune, August 23, 1933.
- The story of Ashuelot, by Donald P. Dewel, in the Algona Advance, August 24, 1933.
- Early days in Attica, by Mrs. H. A. Neifert, in the Knoxville Express, August 24, and the Knoxville Journal, September 28, 1933.
- An old store account book at Northrup, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, August 24, 1933.
- Reminiscences of Black Hawk County, by Roger Leavitt, in the Waterloo Courier, August 5, September 24, and the Cedar Falls Record, August 26, 28, 1933.
- The literary productions of the Washington Academy, by Charles A. Owen, in the Washington Democrat-Independent, August 26, 1933.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Chicago Historical Society has begun the publication of a *Historical News Leaflet* in the form of a single sheet, with news items of the Society's activities and museum.

The Maryland War Records Commission has recently issued three volumes on Maryland in the World War, 1917-1919. Two volumes contain an alphabetical list of the Maryland men in service with a brief report of their records. A third volume contains maps.

The year 1933 is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota as a State. A program on May 11th at the Historical Building at St. Paul was addressed by William W. Cutler, Theodore C. Blegen, and Guy Stanton Ford. A series of broadcasts marked the week of May 7-12. Programs in the schools also marked the anniversary. A pageant was presented at Itasca State Park six times between July 2nd and September 4th. Another contribution to the celebration were newspaper feature articles and campaigns to locate old settlers in the various communities.

IOWA

The Historical Society of Howard County held a monthly meeting at Cresco on September 11, 1933. A paper on Major S. H. M. Byers was presented by Mrs. J. H. Howe.

The Dubuque Chapter of the D. A. R. recently voted to erect markers for eighteen historic spots in or near Dubuque, most of them the homes or former homes of distinguished residents.

The diaries and other possessions of Judge Charles Mason have been donated to the Historical Department at Des Moines by Charles Mason Remey, a grandson of Judge Mason's.

An historical map of Sioux City has been prepared through the

joint efforts of the Junior League whose members compiled the data, and Louise Ashton who made the drawings and illustrations. Proceeds from the sales are used for charity.

Dubuque held its centennial celebration during the week of August 6-12, 1933. During the first three days the American Legion Convention was in session. The historical pageant, "Julien Dubuque, Miner of the Mines of Spain", written by Dr. Henry G. Langworthy, was presented on the evenings of August 10, 11, and 12. Dr. Langworthy was president of the Dubuque Centennial Association.

The growth of interest Iowa history is evident from the number of articles which appear on that subject. In the *Des Moines Register* the column prepared by Harvey Ingham is often devoted to the history of Iowa. The Monday edition contains one of the lessons on Iowa history prepared by Hubert Moeller. A similar series, by John E. Briggs, appears in the papers of the Iowa Daily Press Association.

The Union County Historical Society met at Afton on September 16, 1933. A suggestion was made that the history of Union County be brought down to date, supplementing the county history by George Ide. Mrs. Victor Erickson was elected president, Frank Forbes, vice president, Mrs. Richard Brown, secretary, and Mrs. Frank Seeley, treasurer.

The ninth annual meeting of the Wyoming Historical Society was held on July 31, 1933. Tributes to members who have died, reminiscences, and a talk by Reverend Herbert Graening on "Keeping the Faith of Our Founders", made up the program. The following officers were elected: president, Elsie Bender; vice presidents, Janet Reade, Grizelda Morse, Hatty Franks, and Leota Wherry; corresponding secretary, Jessie G. Koch; recording secretary, Elizabeth C. Wherry; and treasurer, Emma Alden.

Burlington eelebrated the hundredth anniversary of settlement during the week of September 10-16, 1933. Addresses were given by Ray Murray, Iowa Secretary of Agriculture, Ralph Budd, president of the C. B. and Q. Railroad, Ambrose O'Connell, special assistant to Postmaster General Farley, and Royal H. Holbrook of Ames. A parade, music, and various amusements were other features of the program. On September 13th the Hawk-Eye Natives held their annual reunion at Crapo Park. Groups of Indians from Tama were in camp during the week.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The box from the cornerstone of the Iowa City Universalist Church has been deposited in the Library of the State Historical Society. This church, which was recently torn down, was built in 1871.

Since the year 1934 marks the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of civil government in Iowa, the general theme selected by the State Historical Society for Iowa History Week in 1934 is "The Beginnings of Government in Iowa". As usual, the third week in April is the date fixed — April 16-20, 1934. It was in 1834 that the area now included in Iowa was attached to Michigan Territory. Two counties — Dubuque and Demoine — were created in this area the same year.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Miss Ruth M. Pieper, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. George F. Heindel, Ottumwa, Iowa; Miss Jessie E. Hinkle, Harvard, Iowa; Miss Mary L. Kelley, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Carl O. Smith, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Clara P. Bell, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Elva Buffington, Mechanicsville, Iowa; Miss Mary W. Durham, Marion, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Johnston, Santa Barbara, California; Dr. L. C. Kern, Waverly, Iowa; Mr. Anson Marston, Ames, Iowa; Mr. L. M. B. Morrissey, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Nelson, Stanton, Iowa; Mr. G. L. Norman, Keokuk, Iowa; Miss Glenn R. Ogden, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. I. L. Peters, Clarion, Iowa; Rev. A. C. Proehl, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John L. Ruf, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. L. J. Rychnovsky, Belle Plaine, Iowa; Mr. Lothrop Smith, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. Henry J. Altfillisch, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. C. J. Christiansen, Clarion, Iowa; Mr. C. M. Cochrane, Davenport, Iowa; Mr.

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Lawrence Daughrity, Keosauqua, Iowa; Mr. M. G. Davis, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Wayne J. Foster, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Rev. Ira J. Houston, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. William H. Iten, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. S. V. Shonka, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Mr. Warren H. White, Rock Rapids, Iowa. The following persons have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Mr. W. S. Cooper, Winterset, Iowa; Mr. Earl S. Fullbrook, Lincoln, Nebraska; and Mr. H. P. Rosser, Des Moines, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The town of Clarence celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on August 26, 1933.

Early settlers of Black Hawk County met at Hanna's Grove on August 25, 1933. Roger Leavitt gave an address on the pioneers.

The annual reunion of the old settlers of Henry County was held at Salem on August 26, 1933. In the afternoon a pageant was presented reproducing the history of Salem.

The old "Council Oak" at Sioux City was the center of a pageant presented on August 7, 1933. A marker for the tree was presented by R. B. Wixson and accepted by Mayor W. D. Hayes.

Parker's Grove Baptist Church celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on August 27, 1933. Addresses by C. W. Meek, E. F. Austin, W. D. Yard, and L. W. Inman were features of the program.

The Little Sioux and Maple Valley Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Anthon on August 10, 1933. Talks by old settlers and an address by the Honorable James Burgess made up part of the program.

John W. Rath, James Graham, and George E. Pike were the three trustees appointed to administer the property willed by H. W. Grout to perpetuate the Grout museum of pioneer and Indian relics and geological specimens at Waterloo. The museum will, for the time, be located in the Y. M. C. A. building.

The old settlers of Webster County held their annual picnic at Dolliver Memorial Park on Labor Day, September 4, 1933. Reverend G. A. Swanberg gave the chief address. A brief history of Webster County, by M. C. Humphrey, and "History vs. Pioneering", a discussion by Maude Lauderdale, were two other features of the program.

The German-American Pioneer Society of Scott County held its annual reunion at Maysville on September 19, 1933. The program included a speech by B. M. Jacobsen. Officers chosen were as follows: Alfred Mueller, president; J. S. Grant, vice president; Albert Jansen, treasurer; and Adolph Petersen, secretary.

Leigh S. J. Hunt, who was President of the Iowa State College of Agriculture from 1880 to 1885, died at his home at Las Vegas, Nevada, on October 6, 1933. In addition to his educational work Mr. Hunt had been adviser to President Theodore Roosevelt during the Russo-Japanese War, planned the merger of the Seattle Post and Intelligencer, assisted in the organization of a gold mine company in Korea, and was connected with a plan for the colonization of the Sudan.

The forty-seventh annual reunion of the old settlers of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles on August 17, 1933. A short address by E. H. Sands and a paper on "Neighbors of the Early Eighties", by Fred C. Runkle, were features of the program. Officers chosen for the ensuing year were the following: president, J. P. Small; vice president for Madison County, S. A. Bradshaw; vice president for Warren County, W. H. Shannon; and secretary, H. A. Mueller.

CONTRIBUTORS

- RUTH AUGUSTA GALLAHER, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of His-TORY AND POLITICS, for January, 1916, p. 156, October, 1931, p. 604, and October, 1933, p. 616).
- Henry Arnold Bennett. On leave of absence from State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for July, 1926, p. 508.)

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

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GLIMPSES OF IOWA STATESMEN

I have only a shadowy picture in the back of my mind of that great apostle of liberty, Senator James W. Grimes, who in 1854 — two years before the birth of the Republican party in Iowa — sounded the death knell of slavery from one end of Iowa to the other, in more than one instance facing a threateningly unfriendly audience. I see Senator Grimes sitting aloof from his colleagues, bending over his desk vigorously writing and frequently turning to a pile of books of reference, evidently preparing a speech. I see him again, presumably listening to a debate, but with eyes fixed on vacancy as if lost in thought and oblivious to the volleys of oratory fired over his head. In my mind's eve. I see him, the victim of a paralytic stroke, laboriously rising from his seat to cast his deciding vote against the unseating of President Johnson — a vote which cost him the friendship of thousands of his supporters in Iowa, but one which, soon after his premature death, was conceded by his critics to have been conscientious, and by most of them to have been wise and patriotic.

Though a friend in the Senate gallery had previously pointed out Grimes's colleague, Senator James Harlan, a massive figure surrounded by smaller men, my one vivid impression of the man was on that night of nights, the 11th of April, 1865, when from the famous east window over the entrance to the White House, President Lincoln delivered his last public utterance, three days before the assassin's bullet brought his mortal career to an untimely end.

It was a gloomy night, for a mist in the early evening had developed into rain, and the gloom was accentuated by the lights from the porch and grounds falling upon the glistening canopy of umbrellas under which stood thousands of listeners to the President's promised speech on Reconstruction — a veritable last message of peace and good will to the conquered South, both white and black. At the conclusion of his speech, and following the applause, the audience, still standing in the misty rain, began to call for Sumner someone having shouted the Massachusetts Senator's name. The President good-naturedly returned to the window, and expressed regret that he could not turn over his friend Sumner to the audience in response to the call, adding that he was fortunate in having with him his friend, Senator Harlan, of Iowa, whom he had recently chosen as one of his political family, who had generously consented to exchange his seat in the Senate, from which he had rendered valiant service to the cause of the Union, for the trying position of Secretary of the Interior.

The audience below eagerly acted upon the President's suggestion and called lustily for Harlan. Soon, by the side of the President stood the Iowa Senator — the one tall and slender with sloping shoulders, unlike the square-shouldered Lincoln of the St. Gaudens statue seen by most of you in Lincoln Park, Chicago; the other, nearly as tall but broader-shouldered and deeper-chested.

After the hearty greeting accorded him, Harlan spoke for perhaps thirty minutes. Quite in contrast with the somewhat metallic ring of the President's voice, the Senator's voice was deep-throated and strong. While the President, who was speaking to the nation, read his carefully-prepared speech without attempt at oratory, only once looking up from his manuscript to give with better effect his apt illustration of the hen and her eggs — Harlan spoke without preparation and with the utmost freedom, with a suggestion of the preacher-orator who in his young manhood had gone

up and down Iowa winning reluctant majorities from a State which, until Grimes and Harlan took the stump, had been safely and reliably Democratic. The burden of his impromptu speech was that two principles had been settled by the war: the American people had decided, once and forever, that a majority of the voters of the Republic should control the Republic's destinies, and that no part of the Republic should ever be permitted to secede.

On the night of that fateful fourteenth of April when Lincoln, in the last agonies of the dying, lay on his couch in the Peterson home opposite Ford's Theatre, I, with hundreds of others, stood shivering in front of the house, eagerly but vainly watching and listening for some sign or word of hope from the few men permitted to come and go. I saw the Iowa Senator alight from a carriage, hurriedly climb the steps and nervously ring the doorbell. The door was promptly opened, evidently by someone who knew the nearness of the Senator to the President, and he was admitted to the house of death.

Little did I then think that more than forty years after that tragic night, it should be my privilege to write for the State Historical Society of Iowa the "Biography of James Harlan", the data for which was mainly obtained from the Senator's private papers, kindly loaned me by the Senator's daughter, the wife of President Lincoln's sole surviving son, Robert T. Lincoln.

The last time I met James Harlan face to face was early in January, 1896. You remember the fierce storm of censure which fell upon Harlan and his associates of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument Commission because certain Iowa veterans were selected as models for the portrait medallions to be part of the decoration scheme of the monument. The fact that the selections made included certain veterans then living about whom the winds of partisanship

had fiercely blown—"Dick" Clarkson the principal storm center—was the chief ground of censure. To set the Commission right before the people of the State, and to secure a timely article from the ex-Senator, I visited him at the Savery Hotel and secured his promise of an article in *The Midland Monthly* relating the history of the monument and replying to his critics. The article, profusely illustrated, appeared in the February number of the *Midland* of 1896.

Harlan was then seventy-six, but still robust and strong. After obtaining his assurance, I rose to leave; but he invited me to resume my seat, and of his own accord he spoke of the injustice done him and his associates of the Commission. "But", said he, "you have probably observed that their shafts are mainly directed at me. I ought to be hardened to it by this time, for they've been at it since 1873 when I was driven from the Senate by a storm of misrepresentation and abuse — a storm originating in a newspaper office here in Des Moines." And then, with a pathos which moved me almost to tears, he exclaimed, "I can't understand their motive in attacking me. I wonder if they think I am still politically ambitious! Can't they see, or won't they see, that at my age it would be the height of folly, or insanity, to desire to live over again the woe and disappointments of public life?"

While I was acting as local chairman in Cedar Rapids, I think it was in the campaign of '84, I learned that Senator James F. Wilson had never spoken in Cedar Rapids, and had asked the State committee to make a date for him there. So I arranged to have a Wilson meeting at Greene's Opera House. The committee put Governor William Larrabee on the program with Wilson; and almost at the last minute, in indulgent response to his own request, put Judge Benjamin I, Salinger on for a short opening speech. There

was a torchlight procession which held the audience back till nine. Then amid much confusion, Salinger made a twenty-minute speech. While he was speaking I asked Wilson and Larrabee to arrange the order of their speeches. The Governor quickly responded: "This is the Senator's meeting and so I'd best speak first and give him a clear field. I can say all I have to say in twenty minutes."

The Senator looked skeptical but acquiesced. When the Governor had spoken a full hour and announced one more phase of the tariff question which he would briefly consider, the Senator looked at his watch and, boiling with indignation, whispered to me: "I refuse to speak. It would be an imposition on the audience to begin a speech at eleven o'clock!"

That would never do; so I used all my persuasive powers to urge him to reconsider. With an apology for having taken so much time and with words of praise for the eloquent orator who was to follow him, the Governor took his seat. By this time the audience had dwindled and the enthusiasm of those who remained had evaporated. Owing to the lateness of the hour and the weariness of those who had courteously remained, the distinguished orator for whom the meeting had been arranged confined himself to a fifteen or twenty minute speech which scarcely gave evidence of the power of one of the greatest statesmen-orators Iowa has ever contributed to national legislation.

In 1892 Senator William Boyd Allison was to me a veritable fairy godmother. I chanced to learn that a relative, an old veteran in Iowa politics, familiarly called "Uncle Charley" Weare, had somehow grown tired of life among the Germans and was about to resign the consulship at Aix la Chapelle, in Germany. At the time I was in correspondence with Senator Allison relative to his political fences in

Iowa. As a postscript to one of my letters, I asked the Senator what he would think of turning over the consulship to me, thus keeping the political perquisite a little while longer in the family! (Uncle Charley was a relative of my wife.) This was in the late fall. The Senator apparently paid no attention to my suggestion. Though I had fought hard for his reëlection at the time when an organized opposition had tried to induce Governor Larrabee, Judge James H. Rothrock, or anybody who thought he could get votes enough, to run against the Senator, I presented no claim for service rendered, simply suggesting that an outing in Europe would be appreciated. Weeks and months passed and no word from the Senator. I began to philosophize on the short memory of men in high places, when, one morning, picking up my paper, the Cedar Rapids Republican, to my surprise I saw on the front page a list of long deferred presidential appointments and my name among the number! Then came a letter from the Senator stating that on his recommendation, and as a personal compliment to him, President Harrison had weeks before assured him that the appointment would be made. This is only another incident showing the Senator's unfailing regard for his political friends. Though somewhat of a civil service reformer myself, I do not recollect having had any serious qualms of conscience over the President's unorthodox course in this particular instance!

Another incident brings Senator Allison and President Harrison into conjunction. You will recall that Allison would probably have been nominated for the presidency in '88, if at the last moment, Chauncey M. Depew hadn't turned the New York delegation from Allison to Harrison—his excuse being that Iowa's Grangerism was not to be trusted!

One day, by appointment, the Senator piloted three of

his Iowa constituents to the White House, that we might pay our respects to his successful rival for the presidency. Senator Allison's card was an open sesame, and we were soon in the presence of President Harrison. Having heard and read much of Harrison's frigidity, we were surprised and delighted at the warmth of our reception. After a few commonplace remarks back and forth, the president alluded to the Senator's then recent narrow escape from defeat for reëlection, and was reminded of a "funny incident" in some Indiana campaign in which he, himself, had narrowly escaped defeat. The four Iowans laughed heartily at the story and, again shaking hands with his excellency, departed.

The story as told the next day by a facetious correspondent of the New York Sun was that, on resuming their seats in the carriage, Senator Allison turned to Colonel Albert W. Swalm and said, "That was a clever story the president told."

The colonel responded, "Yes, senator; very good. Somehow I hadn't thought of the president as a story-teller."

The Senator continued, "That was a capital joke at the end of it, but I can't just now recall it. Give me the point of it and it'll all come back to me."

The colonel turned to the Iowa editor who sat opposite him and said, "Brigham, you remember the point of that joke the President got off. What was it?"

The editor grew thoughtful and, after a brief silence, replied: "I remember the story in a general way, and I remember the joke at the end of it struck me as very funny at the time; but for the life of me I can't recall it now."

Turning to Murphy, of the Vinton Eagle, his brother editor said, "Pat, you must surely remember it, for I observed you laughed louder and longer than the rest of us."

By this time Pat had sunk down into the big fur collar of

his overcoat, and was almost asleep — for he had been out late the night before. The question was repeated, but the only response was a gruff "damfino".

With the lively curiosity of one very much interested in history — and especially in history in the making — I spent many evenings in Congress in the year 1864, listening to debates and familiarizing myself with the features of Congressmen who were then making history and giving generous promise of continuing to be history-makers. Among the members of the lower house who attracted my attention were two young Congressmen from Iowa, both of whom had even then given abundant assurance of future usefulness as statesmen.

William Boyd Allison was then thirty-five and had already served two years in the House. Allison came to Washington in 1862 with the prestige of a delegateship in the Convention of 1860 which, with the aid of the vote of the Iowa delegation, nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. Later, he was a member of Governor Kirkwood's staff and was active in rounding up northeastern Iowa in support of the Union cause.

James F. Wilson was thirty-six, and had behind him a reputation as the leader in the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857 — the product of whose joint labors is, with a few amendments, the present Constitution of Iowa. Full of honors won in our State Senate, Wilson was quietly and thoroughly studying statesmanship, preparing himself for the important rôles he was soon to assume, first in the House, and later in the Senate of the United States.

Passing over much of interest in the public careers of the Iowa Senators — for I am relating incidents, not attempting biography — I recall an evening at the hospitable dinner-table of Senator Allison, in the former home of Senator Grimes, Allison's father-in-law. Colonel Albert W. Swalm, afterwards consul at Southampton, England—"Al", as he was familiarly called—and I happened to meet in Washington one day in the early nineties. We sent in our cards to Allison, who promptly appeared and after a brief conference, we were cordially invited to a dinner he was to give that evening in honor of his old friend and early political backer, General Grenville M. Dodge.

That evening, at the head of the table sat Senator Allison. At his right sat General Dodge. At his left was his colleague, Senator James F. Wilson. Representative Dolliver, Colonel Swalm, and myself occupied the remaining seats. Our host cleverly turned the conversation in the direction of the General's great service to the country as a railroad-builder connecting the two oceans with lines of iron and steel. The General gave much interesting information as to the individual and political wire-pulling at Washington necessary to make even the worthiest project successful. General Dodge was not a teetotaler and as he passed on from the preliminary appetizer (the term "high-ball" was then unknown — at least to me) following up the appetizer with several kinds of wine between the several courses, it was observable that his sallow cheeks became slightly flushed and his conversation somewhat florid.

In the course of a narrative of wild-west experiences, he noted Senator Wilson's empty glass, and evidently recalling the Senator's active support of prohibition, abruptly turned on Wilson with the words — as I recollect them:

"I say, Jim, what in hell are you prohibitionists trying to do in Iowa? Have you got the fool notion that by prohibiting the drinking of whisky and beer — and wine too — you can usher in the millenium?" Then turning to the rest of us, he exclaimed, "What have you fellows got to say for yourselves? Why don't you serve notice on Jim and old

Bill Larrabee and the rest that the thing can't be done and oughtn't to be done?"

There was an awkward silence. Senator Wilson's face, always full of color, became violently red, and with an evident endeavor to restrain himself as a courtesy to his host, his voice charged with emotion but with forced calmness, he replied — as I recall his words:

"General, you've been out of the State too long to pass judgment upon the wisdom of our purpose to put the saloon out of business in Iowa."

The irascible old soldier was up in arms, "I don't know Iowa, hey?"

He was in imminent danger of an explosion, when his host touched his shoulder and, with a conciliatory smile, interrupted his guest saying, "General, you didn't finish that wild-west story, and we'd all like to know how it came out. What became of the girl?"

The General smilingly responded, begging the Senator's pardon for checking the flow of good spirits, and, the crisis past, the "flow" was resumed — doubtless much to the Senator's relief.

An incident occurred in 1889 which brings together in my memory both Senator Allison and Secretary James G. Blaine.

One morning, I went with Senator Allison to urge upon Secretary Blaine the definite selection of a place in the consular service for a friend of mine, Uncle Charley Weare, who had long been under promise of a consulship for gallant and meritorious service rendered in the political field. We found the genial secretary in an unusually benevolent mood. He called for his official record of consulates and, turning at once to Vera Cruz, asked, "How would your friend like Vera Cruz?"

The inquiry was made in a tone and with a look which assured us that the inquirer's one desire was to send us on our way rejoicing. He smilingly continued, "One of the best harbors in the world — Mexico's great seaport — charming old Mexican town, and only sixty miles away is Mount Orizaba, with the finest climate in the world. I know — I've been there. It's simply delightful."

Senator Allison here broke in with—"My memory may be at fault, Mr. Secretary, but haven't I heard something recently about the prevalence of yellow fever in Vera Cruz?"

Blaine promptly responded with a twinkle in the eye: "I'll be frank with you, Senator. There is some yellow fever there during the heated term, but the department has provided against that by giving Vera Cruz a vice-consul. Next spring, at the first approach of hot weather, your friend Weare should flee as a bird to Orizaba and let his vice-consul stay and take the yellow fever!"

Before saying good-bye to Senator Allison, I want to relate a little incident showing the Senator's proverbial caution and, too, his subtle sense of humor. One evening, during the sessions of a long-drawn out State convention in Des Moines, Senator Allison, Congressman Dolliver, Victor Dolliver, and State Senator Smith, of Cedar Rapids, dined with my family and me. While seated at the table, the conversation turned to that prolific source of popular discussion, President Theodore Roosevelt. Victor Dolliver was aggressively anti-Roosevelt and Senator Allison was mildly inclined to defend the President. Finally Victor turned in his seat and put the question:

"Senator, why don't you frankly admit that Roosevelt has made a lot of egregious blunders?"

The Senator deliberately took another sip of coffee and

then, with that irresistible smile which some of you will recall, he replied:

"Victor, I've been in politics and public life a good many years, as you know; and necessarily have run against all sorts of people; but, of all the men I've come to know, our friend Teddy is preëminent in at least one respect: he has a positive genius for making fortunate mistakes!"

The name of Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa War Governor, recalls a slight incident in the campaign of 1886. Against his own judgment and at the instance of his political friends, Kirkwood had been induced to run for Congress in the then hopelessly Democratic second district. The hopelessness of the situation was accentuated by the fact that his party was divided on the question of fusion with the Knights of Labor and by the nomination of a man named O'Meara, on a fusion ticket. Kirkwood was then seventy-three years old. His gait was halting, but otherwise he appeared to be hale and hearty. In the course of his campaign, on his way from Iowa City to Clinton, he had a wait of several hours in Cedar Rapids and, to fill in the time, he called to pay his respects to the then new editor of the Cedar Rapids Republican.

I had heard the ex-Governor speak at the famous reunion of Crocker's Iowa Brigade in Iowa City in the early fall of 1885. He had been introduced by General Belknap and had made a brief address. The note of patriotism and devotion to public duty was clear and ringing. Naturally, his mind went back to the great conflict for national supremacy in which as our War Governor he placed his personal credit and his rare organizing ability at the disposal of President Lincoln. After expressing his keen appreciation of the Brigade and of their presence in his home town, he spoke feelingly of the effect of time in softening the asperities of

war, and then closed with words so timely and eloquent that I cannot dismiss this reference without quoting his grandly simple exhortation.

"But", said he, "there is one thing in connection with our civil war that must not be forgotten. It was not a tournament in which the knights of the different sections of our country met to do battle in the lists for their own honor and for their ladies' favor; nor was it a prize-fight in which brutal sluggers pounded each other for the applause of others as brutal as themselves, and for the money that went to the winner. It was a conflict of political ideas, that reached to the very foundations of our system of government, and we must never forget that in that conflict we were right and those against whom we fought were wrong. All of us, citizens and soldiers, should see to it that the children growing up amongst us shall learn that lesson, shall learn to teach it to their children, and they to their children, until the time shall come as it surely will come, when all our people shall believe that this broad and magnificant domain of ours is one country and only one, that our whole people are citizens of one great nation and only one, and when the only strife among them shall be as to how each shall do the most and the best to protect the rights and secure the happiness of all. May God speed the day!"

Kirkwood's style — if you can apply that word to an apparent absence of all thought of gesture, voice modulation, or choice of words — Kirkwood's style as a campaign orator, was wholly conversational. From the first, he was wont to take his audience into his confidence, treating them as friends and neighbors to whom was due a frank and full explanation of his political faith as applied to the issues of the hour. He was wont to invite any one in the audience to interrupt him at any time with any question which might arise in his mind. He would answer it if he could;

and if he couldn't he'd turn it over to the speaker who was to follow him. For a man who professed to be only a plain miller - though he had practiced law before he came to Iowa - Kirkwood was a remarkably logical reasoner. He could put the major and minor premise and conclusion into a single sentence, and would then clinch the conclusion with a homely but extremely apt illustration, as witty as it was apt.

But I started to tell of his call upon me. The Governor climbed the stairs slowly, using his heavy cane as a help. He stood in the doorway a moment, reviving the dying embers of his cigar. I recognized him at once - for there was only one Kirkwood. He extended his hand, smilingly re-

marking:

"That's the penalty of public life: you can't go anywhere but you'll find somebody knows you! If I wanted to do anything mean or crooked, I wouldn't dare to!"

Taking a seat in my rocking-chair, he began conversing as familiarly as though he had known me from my boyhood. After a general talk on politics, he surprised me by asking if I thought Hayes had him badly "beat". I told him I was too far from the edge of his district to make a good guess. The old man, between vigorous puffs on his cigar, good-

naturedly remarked:

"In other words, you think I can't make it. Now, confidentially, I made a mistake in getting into the political game again at my time of life, and with such a mix-up in our party. My wife came pretty near calling me an old fool for running again, and she was right; but when the boys got after me and tried to make me think I could overcome the normal democratic majority in the district, with a threatened bolt in my party, I said to 'em, 'It can't be done: but if you boys whose fathers fought my battles for me in the sixties want to try it, and can't do any better than to resurrect a dead and buried politician, and set him up on wheels, go ahead and I'll do the best I can.' I told 'em I could at least play the rôle of a political John the Baptist, and prepare the way for somebody else.''

And the old man was right. While the former Republican nominee in the district was snowed under by several thousand majority, the resurrected War Governor and the Republican bolter, O'Meara, together received thirteen hundred more votes than Hayes, the successful Democratic nominee. And the Democratic second district of Iowa, which in 1886 turned down Governor Kirkwood, in 1904 and again in 1908 elected young Albert Dawson, former private secretary to Senator Allison, as its Representative in Congress—in the first instance over the strongest Democrat in Iowa, Judge Martin J. Wade.

The casual mention of Uncle Charley Weare recalls bighearted and brusque Governor John H. Gear, who won for himself the honorable title of "Old Bizness". One time in the course of the House Ways and Means Committee's laborious preparation of the McKinley Bill, I chanced to meet the Governor—then a Representative in Congress. The old man looked uncomfortable in his not very well-fitting dress suit and stiff standing collar. It was dinner hour at the fashionable hotel, "The Shoreham". Noting that nearly everyone else was attired in the conventional evening suit, I made some half-apologetic remark on my non-conformity. The old man smiled and in an undertone remarked:

"O, you're all right, Johnson. I wish I could put up some excuse for coming to dinner in my working clothes. I'll be mighty glad to get back to Iowa where I can dress as I damn please! Here in Washington, if I happen to get caught at dinner time with my store clothes on, I sneak like

a criminal down to the café in the basement where I usually join some other congressional criminal — first with an appetizer, and then with a good square meal and an after-dinner cigar."

The day following, I was presented to the chief conspirator against Democratic serenity — William McKinley. Learning that I hailed from Iowa, McKinley remarked, "We couldn't get on in committee without your man Gear. In fact we're relying on him implicitly to take care of his end of the bill." My recollection is that he was in charge of the agricultural end.

I did not see the old Governor again until 1900, when notwithstanding his failing powers — he was then seventy-five years old - the conservatives of his party found Senator Gear the only available candidate strong enough to defeat Mr. Cummins for the coveted Senatorial nomination. was at the State convention, and to quiet the rumor that Gear was in no condition to run again, the friends of Gear engaged headquarters at the Savery and the Senator was placed in line to receive his friends. I was not surprised when his coach, a Mr. Brady, a railroad attorney then of Cedar Rapids, was obliged to give the Senator my name, but when Gear failed to recognize his old friend Uncle Charley Weare, who had known "John" almost from his boyhood, had accompanied him on his canvass for the governorship away back in 1877, and had met him again and again since then, the futile attempt of the old man to recall his friend's name so moved Uncle Charley that he went off in a corner and gruffly refused to be comforted.

In passing I want to recall a late forenoon interview with Colonel "Dave" Henderson, then regarded by many as the most popular Speaker who ever presided over the House. It was sometime in the eighties. Learning that he was a guest of the Grand Hotel, in Cedar Rapids, I sent up my card, asking for an interview on the political situation. The Colonel sat up in bed eating his belated breakfast. He received me with the utmost cordiality and answered my questions with the utmost freedom — a freedom bordering on recklessness. When I asked him if he would like to see the proof of his interview, he laughed heartily and replied: "No, go ahead, Johnson. Fix it up to suit yourself and if you don't get it straight, I'll call you a damn liar and let it go at that. I'm too old and tough to be hurt by an interview." And then, noting that I had taken him seriously, he added: "Johnson, you ought to know me well enough by this time to know I wouldn't leave it all to you if I didn't know you'd report me straight."

As I left the room I turned and took a last look at the brave, bluff old soldier and at the artificial leg standing against the chair near his bed; and when afterward I learned of another, and another, operation and the final victory of his old enemy, Death, I treasured the memory of that cheery half-hour with the old hero — who, to the last, was a veritable captain of his soul.

There are few in my presence who remember Henry O'Connor — grave, eloquent "Light-horse Harry" — who, after a splendid career as a soldier, rising from private to major, also a successful career as Solicitor General under four Secretaries of State, and a brilliant career on the stump in Iowa and other States, died an inmate of the Soldiers' Home in Marshalltown. Harry was in his time a matchless orator of the spell-binder type. At the historic meeting held in Iowa City in 1856, celebrating the birth of the Republican party, Harry, then a little known lawyer of Muscatine, made a speech so unexpectedly eloquent that men hailed him as the coming orator of Iowa.

In the national campaign of 1884, I happened to be chairman of the fifth district Republican central committee, and was chiefly instrumental in arranging an afternoon mass meeting in honor of General John A. Logan who, as you will remember, ran for the vice presidency with James G. Blaine at the head of the ticket. I was advised by a member of the national committee that, while Logan - better fighter than orator - could be relied upon to draw the crowd, he would probably say all he had to say in thirty minutes. Senator Foster then of Davenport, later of Chicago, was sent on with him to supply the argument and Major O'Connor was also commissioned to supply the oratory. The combination was altogether ideal - in theory! I had been confidentially informed that Harry had latterly been drinking hard, and that I must keep him away from the barrooms then all too numerous along First Avenue near the depot. I conferred with Harry's old friend, Judge Rothrock, and, learning the train he would take from Muscatine, we met the Major at the depot and drove him to the Judge's home for dinner - you remember we all had noon dinners in those days. Soon after dinner, while the Judge was dressing for the reception of General Logan, Harry slipped out, informing Mrs. Rothrock that he was going to the barber shop and would meet the Judge and me at the Grand Hotel and join us in welcoming his friend Logan.

Learning of his departure unattended, the Judge sent one of his sons to urge me to find Harry and not let him get out of my sight till after he had delivered his speech. I made the tour of the First Avenue saloons — from the old depot to the Grand Hotel. In the very last saloon I visited, I learned that Harry had been loading up heavily and had declared he was going to take the next train for home — the train was then past due. I rushed to the depot, arriving just as the early afternoon "freight and accommodation"

for Muscatine was slowly pulling out. In the one passenger coach in the rear sat Harry, his hat off and his head reclining upon the back of the seat. It so happened that George Goodell, then trainmaster for the B. C. R. & N., was standing upon the platform. I rushed up to him and wildly exclaimed:

"George, for heaven's sake, stop the train: our afternoon speaker is in the car there; and our meeting's a failure without him." George obligingly stopped the train and,
now reinforced by Judge Rothrock, we persuaded Harry to
come with us. Assured by the Judge that Harry "sometimes made a better speech with a few drinks in him than
when he was real thirsty", I turned the meeting over to
another committeeman and walked Harry around several
blocks, finally reaching the speaker's stand.

We took our seats upon the platform, in the rear of the General and the Senator, and waited our inning. The General spoke for about twenty-five minutes, fully sustaining his reputation as a better soldier than campaign orator! Senator Foster made an admirable speech of an hour in length, in the course of which I had occasion several times to whisper a few words to the little man at my side, my main purpose being to prevent him from falling asleep and missing the run of the story.

Finally, the chair announced he had the distinguished honor of introducing one of the founders of the Republican party in Iowa, the distinguished soldier, lawyer, and orator, Major Henry O'Connor. The little man buttoned up his long frock coat, stepped briskly to the front, and, after saluting the chairman and "that matchless soldier and statesman", General John A. Logan, began with the remark that owing to the lateness of the hour and the completeness with which the distinguished speakers who had preceded him had covered the issues of the campaign, he would detain his

hearers but a very few moments. Then, drawing on his memory, he began one of his well-learned perorations, waxing more eloquent with every one of his climacteric sentences, until, finally, with a splendid tribute to the Republican doctrine of protection for American labor and to the Stars and Stripes proudly waving above his head, he resumed his seat, amid a tremendous storm of applause.

General Logan was the first to congratulate him. To cut short the long story, suffice to say that Harry's last word to me as I escorted him to a seat on the evening train was: "I was pretty mad when you stopped the train: but I forgive you, for if you hadn't 'a' done it, I would have missed the opportunity of taking a drink with my old army comrade and friend, General Logan."

Dear old Harry O'Connor, whose wit and humor and sentiment, whose genuine love for his adopted country and whose splendid ability as lawyer and orator, is one of the treasured memories of us older men! I was delighted, a few years ago, at some social function at Fort Des Moines, to make the acquaintance of Harry's son, Colonel Charles M. O'Connor of the United States Army and his grandson, Lieutenant O'Connor and I am sure that wherever father and son were later called to action during the World War, they did full honor to the memory of our "Lighthorse Harry".

The allusion to the Dollivers brings to the front of my mind one of the rarest souls it has ever been my happiness to know. I shall not take time to re-tell the story of Jonathan P. Dolliver's great triumphs as an orator, in State conventions and on the stump, and as a debater in the halls of Congress. A few of you have individually felt the electric shock of his eloquence. I like to hark back to one of the minor State conventions — that of '82, two years before

Dolliver's first sweeping triumph as temporary chairman of the Republican State convention of 1884.

It was my first State convention in Iowa. Aside from well-known Congressmen, State legislators, and editors, I knew almost no one among the delegates. The principal nominations had been made and nothing remained but to round out the ticket by the selection of a Supreme Court Clerk. The delegates began to depart, when a ringing voice commanded and held their attention, and there, standing in the aisle, was a stalwart young man whose flashing eye and determined insistence on recognition gave evidence that he was sure he had something to say. As he spoke he paced down the aisle to the front. Then, turning his back to the chair, he addressed the delegates face to face.

Though there was, of itself, no reason for wild enthusiasm over the nomination of a Supreme Court Clerk, before the comparatively unknown orator had named his man the delegates from northwestern Iowa and the younger men from other parts of the State were wildly cheering his every utterance. You of southern Iowa, and those of you who helped swell Roosevelt's majority in Iowa will bear with me, I know, while I read a brief paragraph from young Dolliver's speech nominating Gilbert B. Pray, of Hamilton, for the Supreme Court clerkship. It is a fair sample of the whirlwind oratory of Jonathan P. Dolliver at the age of twenty-four. All I can give you is the form of words; the power behind the words lives only in memory.

"Ten thousand Iowa schoolhouses", said he, "have produced and are producing an enormous crop of republicans. The State of Iowa is full of men who are republicans because they have helped to make the history of the last quarter of a century, that history out of which has come the unanswerable platform of republicanism. I have the honor to nominate one who joined the army as a boy but kept a

man's full step to the music of the Union. I am disposed to speak also for reasons not entirely personal to the candidate himself. I speak in part for the great, growing wealth-producing Northwest of Iowa, those splendid counties of your State where Greenbackers have gone to their long home. I speak in behalf of that part of the State of Iowa which has fully answered the inquiry, 'Is life worth living?' I do not wish to speak in terms of service rendered. We are republicans, it is true, but not of the profit and loss kind. We are bound to the republican party by certain grand considerations which are not dependent upon our success or failure in this convention.''

In 1905, I sent to Judge a series of humorous stories told by and about prominent Iowans. One of the best of the series is such a fine specimen of Dolliverian humor—the humor that on convention nights was wont to hold us, in his room at the Savery Hotel, until long after midnight—that I am going to give it just as it was published. It reads:

In the course of an evening's conversation not long ago, Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver, of Iowa, was asked to tell his friends just when, in the course of his long and successful public career, he had experienced that 'proudest moment of his life' to which orators are wont to refer. The Iowa statesman readily responded: 'It was not long after my second election to Congress.' Asked to give the reason for his extreme self-complacency at that particular time, the senator said: 'In the first place, an enthusiastic friend of mine up in Calhoun County named a lake after me; then the postoffice department in response to petition named a postoffice after me; and, finally, a colored woman of my town — a woman of excellent judgment — named a baby after me.'

"Anticipating the next inquiry, with that irresistible

serio-comic look which warns his friends that something's coming, he continued: 'Boys, let me give you a tip. The fame which the vainglorious of this world seek to eternize is sadly lacking in staying powers. Take my case for example. First thing I knew, the baby died; next, along came the free rural delivery and closed that postoffice; and, to cap the climax, we had two seasons of drouth in succession and at the end of the second season there wasn't enough water in Lake Dolliver to keep one lone bull-frog going!''

One more scene before I let the curtain fall upon the picturesque career of our mutual friend. You older ones may remember the parting of the ways between Senator Dolliver and Senator Aldrich, early in the great debate of 1906, when, ignoring senatorial courtesy and Dolliver's strong claims to recognition, the Senator from Rhode Island, with the aid of Democratic votes in the railroad committee, caused the Hepburn Bill to be voted out in charge of Senator Tillman, of South Carolina. This, with subsequent humiliations, led to Dolliver's last great speech delivered in the Senate on the 13th day of June, 1910. You remember, a vigorous attempt had been made by Aldrich and his supporters to read the dangerous young Iowa progressive out of the Republican party.

Dolliver's anticipated "Declaration of Independence" had been heralded and the galleries were crowded with eager listeners. It was a lengthy speech, taxing to the utmost the failing strength of our giant in debate.

The Senator first gave a masterly review of the Paine-Aldrich tariff bill, revealing the alarming extent to which, in his judgment, the tariff schedules had been made to further corporate interests and shelter monopoly. He then indignantly demanded to know when the Republican party had been turned over to the interests, and what had come over the party of free speech, "that freedom of debate and

freedom of opinion had suddenly become infamous within its ranks!" It had become obvious that members of Congress must become "either understudies or Ishmaelites". He rejected the terms of fellowship offered. He had no intention of leaving his party "even to oblige old and valued friends". He was born a Republican "down among the loyal mountains of Virginia." With a touch of tenderness which moved strong men to tears, he referred to the mighty leaders of his party whose portraits adorned the walls of his humble home in the South, "and now", he continued, "my own children are coming to years and are looking upon the same benignant, kindly faces as I teach them to repeat the story of our heroic age and to recite all the blessed legends of patriotism and liberty." It was going to be a very difficult thing to drive him out of the Republican party. It could not be done by hurling epithets at him. After paying his respects to the "freak statistics" made to order for Senator Aldrich, he indulged in a touch of biting satire. "The past year", said he, "witnessed two events of unusual interest - the discovery of the North Pole by Dr. Cook and the revision of the tariff downward by the Senator from Rhode Island, each in its way a unique hoax."

The Senator then touched a pathetically personal note one solemnly recalled when four months thereafter, his

troubled spirit found rest. He said:

"I have had a burdensome and toilsome experience in public life now these twenty-five years. I am beginning to feel the pressure of that burden. I do not propose that the remaining years of my life, whether they be in public affairs or in private business, shall be given up to a dull consent to the success of all these conspiracies which do not hesitate before my very eyes to use the lawmaking power, . . . to multiply their own profits and to fill the market places with witnesses of their avarice and greed."

The Senator concluded with a prophecy which, in part at least, has already been fulfilled; and which, I hope, may ultimately, if not speedily, come true in its entirety. Listen to his prophetic words:

"For the day is coming - it is a good deal nearer than many think — when a new sense of justice, new inspirations, new volunteer enthusiasm for good government shall take possession of the hearts of all our people. The time is at hand when the laws will be respected by great and small alike; when fabulous millions, piled hoard upon hoard, by cupidity and greed, and used to finance the ostentations of modern life, shall be no longer a badge even of distinction, but of discredit rather, and it may be of disgrace; a good time coming, when this people shall so frame their statutes as to protect alike the enterprises of rich and poor, . . . and when the rule of justice, intrenched in the habits of the whole community, will put away all unseemly fears of panic and disaster when the enforcement of the laws is suggested by the courts. It is a time nearer than we dare to think. A thousand forces are making for it. It is fruitage of these Christian centuries, the fulfillment of the prayers and dreams of the men and women who have laid the foundations of the commonwealth, and with infinite sacrifice maintained these institutions. I would have the old republican party free from corrupt influences, emancipated from sordid leadership, order the forward movements which are to carry to completion the labors of other generations for the welfare of the people of the United States."

And with this splendid vision of the future the public career of Jonathan P. Dolliver grandly closed.

JOHNSON BRIGHAM

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DES MOINES IOWA

PRISON LABOR IN IOWA

Prison labor systems in the United States may be classified into groups, based upon the disposition of goods produced and the control of the prisoners. Prison-made goods may be sold in the open market or used by the institutions of the State or other States. There may be either public or private control over the discipline of the prisoners, their employment, and the sale of products. The history of prison labor reveals various combinations of these systems.

Prison labor under private management may be organized on a lease, contract, or piece-price basis. Under the lease system, a private individual or company is given control over the discipline, the employment, and the products of the convicts. The contract system delegates control over employment and products only, while the piece-price system relates only to the products. Under the usual contract system, the State receives so much per day for the labor of each prisoner; under the piece-price system the manufacturer pays for the finished product. In all three systems the products are sold by private agencies in the open market.

Under a complete public management system the maintenance and employment of the prisoners and the disposition of the goods is handled by the State. Various forms of public management have been tried. Under the so-called public account system, the State disposes of the prisonmade goods in the open market. Under the public works and ways system, convicts are employed on the roads and in the construction of public works. If goods made by convicts are used in State institutions, the plan is referred to as the State use system. A variation in this, called the

States' use system, permits the sale of prison-made goods to State institutions outside the State.

In recent years there has been a definite shift toward the public account and State use systems. The following enumeration shows the variation in the per cent of prisoners employed in the United States under the various systems in 1905 and 1923 and the value of the goods produced:

			_			
	PER CENT EMI	OF PRISON: PLOYED	ERS VALUE	VALUE OF GOODS		
Contract labor Piece-price Public account State use	1905 36 8 21 18	1923 12 7 26 36	1905 \$16,642,234 3,239,450 4,748,749 3,665,121	1923 \$18,249,350 12,340,986 16,421,878 13,753,201		
Public works Lease	8 9	19 	2,886,887	15,331,545		

PRISON LABOR LEGISLATION IN IOWA BEFORE 1915

The history of the legislation concerning prison labor in Iowa may be divided into three periods. The first begins in the days when Iowa was a part of Michigan Territory and ends with the legislation of 1913. The second period includes the legislation of 1915 and the report which led up to it. The third period extends from 1915 to the present. This rather arbitrary division is made because of the prevalence of certain systems of prison labor during each period.

As early as 1819 the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan adopted a law entitled "An Act for Providing and Regulating Prisons". This act required the sheriff of each county to furnish any convict sentenced to hard labor with tools and materials to work with in the jail or jailyard. The articles manufactured or other products of each convict's labor were to be sold at the expiration of his sentence, and the prisoner might receive from the pro-

¹ Haynes's Criminology, pp. 309, 310. There are no available figures for the lease system.

ceeds of his or her labor any surplus that remained after payment for his maintenance, his fine if any were imposed, and the cost of the tools and material used. This law of 1819, with slight change by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan in 1827, was still in force when Iowa became part of Michigan Territory in 1834 and was carried over to the new Territory of Iowa.²

The first provision for prison labor to be found in the laws of Iowa was adopted in 1839. This act made it mandatory for the sheriff or keeper of the prison to put certain prisoners to work at some useful employment, either within or without the prison. The sheriff was bound by the instructions and regulations of the district court in his county as to the labor of these prisoners. If the court so ordered, the prisoners could be compelled to labor upon any public works outside the prison. It was made the duty of the sheriff or keeper of the prisoners "to secure them, without cruelty, by ball and chain, or block, and also to have a sufficient guard to prevent their escape."

Provision was also made in the year 1839 for erecting a State Penitentiary at Fort Madison. This was "Iowa's first State institution of a charitable or correctional nature". It was to be modeled as closely as possible on the Connecticut State Prison at Wethersfield, and was to be of sufficient capacity to confine 136 convicts. The sum of \$40,000 was appropriated for its construction and its directors were authorized "to cause to be employed, in the erection of the Penitentiary, all such persons as now are, or may hereafter be, convicted of any infamous crime in this Territory, and sentenced to hard labor". A record or account of the convict labor so used was to be kept and reported annually by the directors to the Legislative Assem-

² Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 18.

³ Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, p. 171.

bly. The warden was empowered to attend to the "purchasing of the raw materials, to be manufactured in the Penitentiary, and shall also attend to the sale of all articles manufactured therein".

In 1841 the act providing for a Penitentiary was amended and the warden was given power to hire out the convicts confined there, but no prisoners were to be hired for labor outside of Fort Madison. The amount of labor performed and the money arising therefrom were to be reported by a superintendent of construction to the warden and the warden was to include these items in his report to the Legislative Assembly. The theory then generally accepted was that a prison should pay its own way. Owing to the small number of convicts at the Iowa Penitentiary this ideal was not reached. Disappointed, apparently, by the financial results of the earlier system of management, the legislature in 1846 leased the Penitentiary for a term of three years.⁵

John W. Cohick was the first lessee. His lease was to begin on March 15, 1846. According to section 4 of the law of 1846 the "keeper of the penitentiary shall have the management, control and superintendance of the penitentiary . . . and shall in all respects, keep the same from becoming chargable to the Territory. He shall have the same control and authority over said penitentiary, as has heretofore been possessed by law, by the warden". Under this plan the contractor fed, clothed, and disciplined the convicts in addition to regulating their labor and selling the products.

This lease was not renewed. Upon its expiration the Penitentiary was again placed under the control of public

⁴ Briggs's History of Social Legislation in Iowa, p. 30; Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, pp. 365-368.

⁵ Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1840-1841, Ch. 71, 1845-1846, Ch. 20; Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 19.

⁶ Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1845-1846, Ch. 20.

officers and a superintendent was appointed with authority to direct the employment of the prisoners. In 1851 the institution was placed under the direction of a board of three inspectors and a warden, appointed by the Governor.

In 1853 the contract system of prison labor was inaugurated in Iowa. The inspectors and warden of the Iowa Penitentiary were given authority to lease or hire out the prisoners to be worked in shops within the prison grounds, if they thought that such a system would best serve the interests of the State.⁸

Under the new law, an agreement was made with John H. Winterbotham and W. D. Headley, contractors. This contract, which was to extend from 1854 to 1864, called for the employment of all the able-bodied men in the Penitentiary (exclusive of those needed for repairing, cleaning, and cooking) in the manufacture of wagons, buggies, harness, saddletrees, mechanical and agricultural implements, and in any other mechanical trades which might be sanctioned by the warden. The men were to be fed, clothed, and disciplined by the officials at public expense and the State was to furnish shops and storerooms within the walls of the prison. The contractors were to have free use of the tools belonging to the State, on the condition that they be replaced in good condition at the end of the contract. The contractors were to furnish the materials and such other tools as might be needed. The State was to receive 30 cents per day for each convict's labor during the first year, and 35 cents a day for the remaining nine years. As a further concession to the contractors, the State agreed to allow four months credit so as to permit the contractors to sell their products before paying for the labor.9

⁷ Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849, Ch. 70, 1850-1851, Ch. 87; Briggs's History of Social Legislation in Iowa, p. 42.

⁸ Laws of Iowa, 1852-1853, Ch. 14.

⁹ Journal of the Senate, 1854-1855, Appendix, pp. 23-25.

In 1862, the warden and his assistants were given the sole management of the Penitentiary. As the contract of 1854-1864 was drawing to a close, the Ninth General Assembly at an extra session, in 1862, appointed Edward Johnstone and J. C. Walker of Lee County and the warden of the Penitentiary as commissioners to enter into another contract for convict labor. The contract was not to extend for a longer period than ten years, and the convicts were not to be leased at any less price than 35 cents per day. The acts of the commission had to be approved by the State Census Board before they were binding upon the State. Upon the expiration of the Winterbotham and Headley contract in 1864, a ten-year agreement was formed with Thomas Hale and Company (Winterbotham being a member of the new firm). This contract was similar to the one made ten years before. The maximum number of prisoners to be employed was fixed at 150, and the industries were limited to cooperage and the manufacture of agricultural implements. The compensation to be paid to the State was increased to 40 1/3 cents per day of ten hours. The warden. however, was authorized to use convicts for the manufacture of shoes and clothing for the use of the prisoners.10

In 1868 the General Assembly passed the following act: "That for the general support of the convicts there is hereby appropriated the monthly sum of eight and one-third dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary to each convict in said prison, to be estimated by the average number for the preceding month, subject however to a deduction from the whole amount for the month of the sum charged to the contractors for convict labor for that month."

¹⁰ Laws of Iowa, 1862, Ch. 117, 1862, Extra Session, Ch. 16; Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 20; Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary (Fort Madison), 1863-1865, pp. 11-16.

¹¹ Laws of Iowa, 1868, Ch. 69.

An event of importance in 1872 was an act making provision for an additional prison at Anamosa, to relieve the congestion at Fort Madison which had become a problem. The new institution was to be located near a stone quarry and, it was planned, would be large enough to confine and employ 500 convicts. As in the case of the erection of the Penitentiary at Fort Madison, the convicts were to be required to work on the new institution, but the prison labor used at Anamosa was to have some incentive for good work. Section 12 provided that: "The Warden of said Penitentiary shall keep a faithful and accurate account with each convict, showing the number of days' labor performed by each and the value thereof in cash, not exceeding two dollars per day for each day of ten hours, and for each and every one hundred dollars' worth of labor in excess of three hundred dollars, performed in any one year by any convict not sentenced for life, there shall be a commutation of the sentence of such convict, upon the recommendation of the Warden, to the amount of fifty days' time; and the one-third part of such excess shall be paid him out of the State treasury at the time of his discharge, upon the certificate of the amount due by the Warden." Thus, the sentence of the prisoner might be reduced by his labor. The law of 1872 also made provision for a form of State use system of convict labor - in that the convicts at Anamosa were to furnish stone from the quarry to be used in the construction of other State buildings.12

According to the report of the warden of the Fort Madison Penitentiary in 1869, convict labor was being sold at too low a price. In 1874, the General Assembly, heedful of this advice, passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint three citizens to act as commissioners to secure new contracts after the agreement with Hale and Company ex-

¹² Laws of Iowa, 1872, Ch. 43.

pired. These commissioners were to enter into contracts for not longer than five years whereby the labor of 300 men was to be sold at a price not less than 60 cents per day per man. The acts of the commissioners were not binding until approved by the Executive Council.

These commissioners contracted for the labor of 300 convicts by four agreements with three different groups of contractors. Benjamin S. Brown & Company (later known as the Iowa Farming Tool Co.), makers of agricultural implements, contracted to take the labor of 100 men on the ten-hour day basis for a term of five years beginning on January 1, 1875. The second contract was made with J. D. Trebilcock and John M. Johnson of Bloomfield, Iowa, who agreed to employ 50 men on the ten-hour day basis for a term of five years, beginning on January 1, 1875. This company was to manufacture chairs, school furniture, and coffins. The third and fourth contracts were entered into with O. B. Dodge of Red Wing, Minnesota. He agreed to hire 75 men on the ten-hour day basis for a term of five years, beginning on March 1, 1875. After December 1, 1875, this company agreed to hire 25 additional men on the same basis. This company manufactured boots, shoes, and boot and shoe pacs. In April, 1875, the Dodge Company contracted for the hire of 50 additional men. Under the latter contract the prisoners were to receive two months of instruction during which time the State would not receive any pay for their labor. Only able-bodied men sentenced for at least one year were included in these contracts, and the State built, maintained, and heated the shops, and furnished free of charge a number of men called "lumpers" - to do the cleaning, build fires, and run errands.13

¹³ Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary, 1867-1869, p. 18, 1873-1875, pp. 30-41; Laws of Iowa, 1874, Private, Local, and Temporary Acts, Ch. 35; Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, pp. 20, 21.

O. B. Dodge failed during the winter of 1875-1876, and other contractors declared themselves unable to continue paying the contract price for prison labor. Their representatives induced the General Assembly to repeal the section of the law of 1874 fixing a minimum price for convict labor. The amendment of 1876 authorized the commissioners to enter into new contracts, subject to the approval of the Executive Council, and to remove convicts from Fort Madison to Anamosa, with the approval of the Executive Council.

The law of 1872 relating to the new prison at Anamosa was also amended. The act of 1876, like its forerunner, provided for a "good time" allowance in return for the work done by the convicts at Anamosa. The only difference between the two lay in the provision, "nothing in this act shall be so construed as to authorize the leasing of the convict labor." Thus the lease system of prison labor was definitely prohibited at Anamosa.

Under the act of 1876 the commissioners reduced the price of prison labor to 48 cents a day for the tool company, and 46 cents for the Fort Madison Chair Company (successors of Trebilcock and Johnson). O. B. Dodge and Company were replaced by the Huiskamp Brothers (shoe manufacturers) of Keokuk, Iowa, who took 80 men at 43 cents per day, and four "lumpers" without pay.¹⁴

In 1878, the laws of 1872 and 1876 regarding the "good time" of prisoners at Anamosa were further amended. Section 7 of the new law read in part as follows: "The warden shall keep a regular time-table of the convict labor and record the same in a book to be kept for that purpose: and he shall moreover keep a record of all the business under his control and return an account thereof, together

¹⁴ Laws of Iowa, 1876, Chs. 40, 97; Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary (Fort Madison), 1875-1877, pp. 21-35, 57-63.

with an account of the convict labor, to the clerk at the close of each day." It was possible for a prisoner to reduce his sentence not only by labor but also by good behavior, even ending with an absolute pardon.

Another law affecting convict labor, passed in 1878, repealed former acts giving the commissioners power to secure contracts for prison labor. Under the act of 1878 that power was now vested in the warden, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. No provision was made as to price of labor, but the contracts were not to extend for a longer period than five years. With the return of prosperity there was little change in the price of prison labor which had fallen as a result of the panic. The Huiskamp contract was renewed in 1878 at 43 1/3 cents per day.¹⁵

In 1880 two laws were passed which had a bearing on prison labor in Iowa. The first act repealed the law of 1878 which had limited the contracts to five years, and gave the warden, with the approval of the Executive Council, power to enter into contracts for not to exceed ten years. No provision was made as to the price of convict labor. The other act amended the previous "good time" laws offering further inducement for good prison conduct and labor by the restoration of citizenship. In 1880 the chair contract was renewed at 43 cents (45 cents after October 1, 1882) and the tool contract at 50 cents. In 1881 the Huiskamps were able to make an eight and one-half year contract for ninety men, at 45 cents, beginning in July, 1883.16

The chair contract was renewed in 1888 and again in 1894, at 50 cents for full time able-bodied men, and 25 cents for "lumpers". But the pay for full-time men was re-

¹⁵ Laws of Iowa, 1878, Chs. 110, 187; Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary (Fort Madison), 1877-1879, p. 24.

¹⁶ Laws of Iowa, 1880, Chs. 149, 154; Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary (Fort Madison), 1879-1881, pp. 9, 13, 1881-1883, pp. 11, 12.

duced to 40 cents in 1896 as a result of the industrial depression from which the country was then suffering, and was fixed at 45 cents in 1900. Accidents were common and the contractors apparently were in no way held liable for the expense of treatment or loss of time. Between July 1, 1899, and July 1, 1900, the physician at Fort Madison reported forty-six injuries from the chair contract, seventy-eight in the tool factory, six in the button factory, and seven in work for the State.¹⁷

In 1898 a State Board of Control was created by an act of the General Assembly to take charge of the penal institutions of the State. This board was to have charge of letting contracts for the prison labor at Fort Madison and Anamosa.

Up to this time the prisoners at Anamosa had not been engaged in any form of work for private parties. Their work had been confined to quarrying, cutting, and dressing stone for the State, and doing odd jobs and construction work around the institution. The lease system of prison labor had been definitely prohibited at Anamosa by the law of 1876. With the creation of the State Board of Control, however, contracts were entered into for the labor of the Anamosa prisoners.

In 1899, a contract was made with the American Cooperage Company of Anamosa (a member of the cooperage trust) for the services of from 25 to 50 inmates for a period of ten years. The price agreed upon was fifty cents per day, and the work was to be the manufacture of butter tubs, pails, and barrels. The prisoners were to be paid at a proportional price per tub for extra work. Thus while the State received \$7,217.23 from the cooperage contract during the biennial period ending June 30, 1908, \$4,561.76 was

¹⁷ Biennial Report of the Warden of the Penitentiary (Fort Madison), 1887-1889, p. 8, 1893-1895, pp. 7, 8, 1895-1897, p. 9, 1899-1901, pp. 31-33; Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 21.

paid to the convicts themselves. This contract and the contract for five years, made in 1899 with the Iowa Button Company employing prisoners at Fort Madison, aroused the opposition of organized labor, and largely because of their agitation, an act of 1900 prohibited the manufacture of butter tubs and pearl buttons in the penitentiaries of the State after the existing contracts expired.¹⁸

In 1902 the law relating to the employment of prisoners in the State stone quarries adjacent to Anamosa was amended, permitting able-bodied convicts to be sent either to Fort Madison or to Anamosa and worked in buildings and places owned or leased by the State outside the penitentiary walls. The act, in fact, extended the confines of the penitentiaries. It came as the result of a decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa, that a prisoner concealing himself in a quarry and afterwards escaping was not guilty of breaking and escaping from the penitentiary.¹⁹

In 1907 the prison at Anamosa was designated as a Reformatory for the confinement of first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30 years. The law also provided that, except to complete existing contracts, inmates of the Reformatory were to be employed only on State account. Such employment was to be conducive to the teaching of useful trades so far as practicable, and to the intellectual and moral development of the inmates.

Another act of 1907 authorized the use of convict labor in caring for the houses and premises occupied by the wardens of the penitentiaries, and for domestic service, but such employment was to be consistent with prison discipline and was limited to the use of two convicts at any one time.²⁰

¹⁸ Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 25; Briggs's History of Social Legislation in Iowa, p. 211; Laws of Iowa, 1900, Ch. 138.

¹⁹ Laws of Iowa, 1902, Chs. 147, 155; State v. King, 114 Iowa 413.

²⁰ Laws of Iowa, 1907, Chs. 192, 194.

As the cooperage contract neared its expiration in 1909, the Thirty-third General Assembly again sanctioned the making of butter tubs at Anamosa. The new law provided that not more than 50 inmates could be employed at this work. The contract for the making of butter tubs was to end not later than January 1, 1915.²¹

In 1913 the Thirty-fifth General Assembly passed several acts which related quite directly to prison labor in Iowa. The law of 1907 was amended giving the wardens permission to employ three convicts, instead of two, in domestic labor about their homes. It also gave each deputy warden permission to use one prisoner for domestic service. A second act passed in 1913 repealed a former act which required that rocks should be crushed by the prisoners into pieces of not more than two and one-half inches.

A third act passed in 1913 related to the employment of prisoners on public highways. Under the new law, county boards of supervisors who desired prisoners from the Penitentiary and Reformatory to work on the public highways within their jurisdiction could obtain them from the State Board of Control. They were to make application to the Board, telling the nature of the work and the price that they were willing to pay for the labor of the prisoners. Leasing these prisoners to contractors was strictly forbidden. A part of the money thus earned by the employment of prisoners on the public highways and public works might be given to the dependents of the prisoners by the Board of Control. Another interesting provision in the new law was the restriction that prisoners at work upon the public highways of the State should not be required or permitted to work in clothing which would make them look ridiculous or unduly conspicuous.22

²¹ Laws of Iowa, 1909, Ch. 179.

²² Laws of Iowa, 1913, Chs. 134, 316, 318.

According to the eighth biennial report of the Board of Control (1912) the following contracts were in force at that time: the American Cooperage Company contract, at Anamosa, employing from 25 to 50 men, to end December 31, 1914; the Iowa Farming Tool Company contract at Fort Madison for the employment of 195 prisoners, of whom 178 were to be furnished to the company until November 1, 1914, and 32 men from that date until January 1, 1915; and the Fort Madison Chair Company contract for the employment of 109 men until October 16, 1917, and 39 men from that date until January 15, 1918. A variation of the contract system, called the task system, was employed under the tool and cooperage contracts; the minimum day's work was computed and for any production of goods over that amount, the prisoner received extra pay.

Of the men at Anamosa, not on contracts, E. H. Downey wrote: "From six to twelve inmates are employed, at different seasons of the year, upon the prison farm — work which is both healthful and profitable, but in which only 'trusties' can be employed. A printing office and bindery gives employment to ten men who appear to be acquiring trades at the same time that they are doing work interesting in itself and profitable to the State. The necessary tailoring and shoemaking for the Reformatory requires the labor of ten inmates, and is of unquestionable value to the men so engaged, as well as a saving to the public treasury. Still other inmates are utilized in the kitchen and diningroom, and in caring for the lawns, flowers and shrubbery in the prison yard."23

In 1913 the General Assembly also authorized a special tax of one-half mill on the dollar of taxable property for the purpose of creating a number of institutions, including

²³ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1910-1912, p. 31; Downey's History of Labor Legislation in Iowa, p. 26.

a district custodial farm. "This was in a sense the culmination of much legislation directed against the contract system of convict labor and attempting to provide in its place employment not only beneficial to the prisoners but non-competitive as well."

Under this act the Board of Control purchased 781 acres near Clive, ten miles west of Des Moines, at \$200 per acre. It was then found that the act of 1913 had given to the Board no funds for the farm and no direct authority over it as an institution. The Board, however, transferred a number of convicts from Fort Madison, and in their report of 1916 stated that the farm was in first class condition.²⁴

During this first period, the price of prison labor varied but little. In fact, it was actually lower in 1913 than in 1875. Prices ranged from $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 6 cents per hour for the labor of able-bodied men, and the State, in order to get the foregoing contracts, had furnished the shops and, in some instances, tools free of charge. It had also heated and lighted the shops and furnished water. In some of the contracts "lumpers" were furnished free of charge to do odd jobs. In some instances they were paid 25 cents a day.

THE LEGISLATION OF 1915

A committee consisting of Attorney General George Cosson and two other citizens, appointed to investigate the character of the warden and general management of the Iowa Penitentiary at Fort Madison, made its report²⁵ on May 25, 1912.

The charges included the following: that men were com-

²⁴ Laws of Iowa, 1913, Ch. 17; Briggs's History of Social Legislation in Iowa, pp. 206, 207; Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1914-1916, pp. 44, 45.

²⁵ Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Character of the Warden and the General Management of the Iowa Penitentiary at Fort Madison (Des Moines, 1912), pp. 13, 14, 24, 25. (Hereinafter called the Cosson Report)

pelled to work upon contracts when they were not physically able; that they were denied parole because of their skill and strength which made them valuable to the contractor; that the warden or some member of his family had a private interest in the contracts; that not only the guards but the foreman and other employees of the contractors cooperated with the prisoners in passing letters and information in and out of the institution, and also in furnishing to the prisoners various articles including liquor, drugs, and dope. There were complaints also against the foreman and private employees of the contractors.

A thorough investigation of the Penitentiary was made. Witnesses who were both hostile and friendly to the warden were examined. Prisoners were allowed to give their testimony to the committee in private. Information regarding the contract system in other States was secured and examined. Testimonials from the wardens of penitentiaries in other States where different systems of prison labor were being used were obtained. After considering all this, the committee reached the conclusion that "nearly all of these complaints are due to the present system which is in operation at the penitentiary at Fort Madison, and that if there was an annual change in wardens the same or similar complaints would follow each change of administration."

The committee investigated each one of the charges separately. The charge that prisoners were made to work when they were not physically able was not sufficiently corroborated to satisfy the committee. The committee pointed out, however, that there was opportunity under the contract system for this to exist, and that it was a common criticism.

The evidence did not support the charge that prisoners who were strong and efficient workers were not paroled because they were valuable to the contractors. On the con-

trary, the records showed that the number of paroles granted to men working under the contract system was far greater than the number of paroles given to men not so engaged. The Board of Parole, the committee decided, was not in any way influenced by the contractors, but charges of this character would continue to be made as long as the contract system was in use.

The third charge considered by the committee was the alleged interest of the warden and his family in the contracts. The committee report with reference to this charge read in part as follows:

There is no penal institution in which the contract labor system exists where prisoners do not claim that the officers of the institution are controlled by the contractors, from the superintendent, the warden, the prison physician down to the most subordinate officer. That many statements are made by prisoners for the sole purpose of creating prejudice is undoubtedly true, but that opportunity exists for an improper influence cannot be denied.

Another charge was that there had been trouble between the foreman and his employees and the prisoners. One prisoner, Haley by name, refused to work on any contract and finally would not do any work at all. This incident was given wide publicity in the newspapers of the State. One prisoner declared: "The guard's position is at stake if he speaks one word in a prisoner's behalf, for the contract rules and is the power behind the throne." The finding of the committee with reference to this charge was to the effect that there was evidence that there had been disagreements between at least one prisoner and private employees of the contractors with reference to the count. One error was acknowledged by an employee of the contractors, and it was pointed out that such disagreements showed the opportunities for trouble in the contract system.

There was fairly definite evidence that information, let-

ters, drugs, and dope had been smuggled to the prisoners by employees of the contractors. Such coöperation on the part of these men tended to break down discipline. The committee concluded that under the contract system, abundant opportunity existed for such violations.²⁶

That there was truth in some of the charges, the committee agreed. Blame was not attached to the warden or any other official but to the system of labor in use. Rather, the responsibility for the affair must be laid at the door of the State. The committee went on record as follows:

It is fundamentally wrong for a state to exploit prisoners for profit. It is not only wrong but foolish when this exploitation is delegated to some private corporation. If any one is to receive a profit it should be the state. If a profit can be made by a corporation it can be made by the state under efficient management. When the state assumes control over an individual it is responsible for his physical well-being and his social and moral welfare, but no one pretends that a contractor is concerned in any way with the social, moral or physical welfare of the prisoner. With the state, the primary object in view should be the protection of society and the reformation of the individual; with the contractor, the primary object is and always will be the maximum amount of dividends, and it is no answer to say that the Thirteenth Amendment to the federal constitution of the United States, in which it is provided that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction" at least indirectly recognizes that each state may impose a form of slavery upon its convicts.

The contract system is the worst form of slavery because it is a delegated form of slavery. Authority and responsibility should go hand in hand but this cannot be with the contract system.²⁷

The committee also considered competition between prison and free labor. "Free labor", declared the report,

²⁶ Cosson Report, pp. 23-25.

²⁷ Cosson Report, p. 26. (Italics used in report)

"has no right to object to the competition of convict labor. A person does not cease to be a human being because he is transferred from the outside world to a place inside the prison walls." But contract labor in the prisons, said the committee, was unfair competition. The report included the following comment:

Enlightened, fair-minded men of whatever calling or profession have commenced to realize that every man is entitled to the opportunity to work and to receive therefor a living wage. . . .

Briefly summarized, the objection then to contract labor is that it not only is a form of slavery but an unjustifiable form of slavery because it is a delegated form in which responsibility and authority are divorced. It is the exploitation of the helpless convict, not for the profit of the state, but for the profit of a private corporation. It is the wrongful surrender and abandonment of the control and jurisdiction over the person of a prisoner either to a greater or less degree. It furnishes opportunity for convicts to communicate with the outside world in violation of the rules of the institution and to receive opium, morphine, cocaine and other forms of dope if the employees of the contractors are subject to improper influence, or even unduly sympathetic. It furnishes opportunity for corruption between the contractors and prison officials and officers of the law and subjects prison officials to criticism regardless of whether there is any foundation in fact for the charges. It tends to destroy discipline, it impairs reformation and destroys hope on the part of the prisoner: it is injurious to the manufacturer employing free labor; it is unfair competition to free labor because it tends to destroy the living wage, and lessens the opportunity for labor, and on the whole it is economically unsound.28

After thoroughly condemning the contract system of prison labor, the committee recommended that a penal farm be established and that allied industries be maintained.²⁹

The report of this committee was popularly termed the "Cosson Report" and was given much consideration by the

²⁸ Cosson Report, pp. 27, 28. (Italies used in report)

²⁹ Cosson Report, p. 76.

newspapers, the public, and by organized labor. The latter hailed it as an official acceptance of their fight against contract labor.

The ninth biennial report of the Board of Control reported on convict labor up to June 30, 1914. With reference to the Reformatory at Anamosa the report read in part as follows:

The board has abolished by refusing to enter into new contracts the degrading system known as contract labor. The board did, prior to July 1, 1914, make partial arrangements to take over the business of the American Cooperage Company, which has conducted the business of manufacturing butter tubs for a great many years at the institution. This industry will come to the state, if at all, about January 1, 1915.

The board practically discontinued the operation of the stone quarry near the reformatory because of the fact that it was a constant expense to the state and the state was losing money in its operation because of the fact that the quarries, and character of the rock in the quarries, would not meet the requirements of contractors for crushed rock. The rock is too soft and does not come up to good limestone and granite rock that is used in concrete construction.

The work done in the printing and binding department and the manufacture of shirts and other garments in the women's department, in the tailorshop, shoeshop, tinshop and blacksmith shop, has been a source of encouragement to the board in prosecuting to a greater extent the industrial work of the institution.

As to the Penitentiary at Fort Madison the report of the Board of Control indicated the difficulties at that institution. Warden J. C. Sanders had made it a practice to send trusties on errands within the corporate limits of the city of Fort Madison and also to allow these men to work on the public highways there. The city council of Fort Madison had passed an ordinance prohibiting this practice and the warden was arrested. The case was turned over to the Attorney General who secured a writ of habeas corpus and

presented it to Judge Hamilton of the Superior Court, but he upheld the ordinance as valid and refused to release the warden. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Iowa. This incident demonstrated the need, according to the Board, for a custodial farm for trusties and other reliable prisoners.30

In his message to the General Assembly in 1915 the Governor clearly voiced the sentiment of the public with reference to prison labor in the following paragraph:

As many men as possible from the penitentiary and reformatory ought to be given work upon our public highways, especially since the State has entered upon the policy of permanent road improvement. The experiments made in this direction have been very satisfactory, indeed. The brief experience the State has had in allowing a few men from the penitentiary and reformatory to work out side has resulted in a profit over all expenses of \$19,773.10 to the State and earnings to the men about \$7,000.00. The State has turned its face toward the more modern and enlightened method of dealing with criminals and the whole subject is one that ought to have your most careful consideration. Some considerable expense must necessarily be incurred in the beginning but ultimately the methods proposed will, as I believe, reduce cost to the State. The abolishment of the contract labor system is looked upon, I think with general favor. But men must be kept at work and it will therefore be necessary that you provide by legislation some method or provide such industries as will supply the need.31

It was evident that something had to be done about the employment of prisoners in Iowa. In 1914 the Board of Control reported that it had refused to enter into any new contracts and it recommended that the State take over the prison industries. It had also showed the difficulties of administration at Fort Madison. The Governor in his message to the legislature had recommended a change. The legislation of 1915 was the result.

³⁰ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1912-1914, pp. 18-20.

³¹ Journal of the Senate, 1915, pp. 32, 33.

The law of 1915 provided that the inmates of the Penitentiary and Reformatory should hereafter be employed on State account, State use, and public works, except to complete existing contracts, and the Board of Control was forbidden to enter into any new contracts for prison labor. All prison labor was to be conducive to the teaching of useful trades and callings so far as possible, and to promote the intellectual and moral development of the prisoners. Convicts employed on State account or State use were to work at the penal institutions. Any work performed by convicts for private companies was to be paid for at the same rate as that received by free labor. The Board of Control was given authority to establish any industries it deemed advisable at any penal institution under its jurisdiction. Work within the limits of Fort Madison and Anamosa was forbidden except on State property.

The act further provided that "Whenever services are rendered by any inmate at any institution under the supervision and jurisdiction of the board of control, the board of control may whenever practicable allow such inmate compensation which shall not exceed the amount paid to free labor for a like service or its equivalent, less such amount that the state is put to for maintenance as the board of control may deem equitable, and in addition to deducting an amount to defray the cost of maintenance, the board of control may also deduct an amount sufficient to pay all or a part of the costs taxed to any inmate by reason of his commitment." The Board was authorized to send money earned by a prisoner to his dependents or deposit it in the bank for him. For each month of employment, a convict might be allowed ten days of good time.

Acting upon the authority given them by the law of 1915, the Board of Control started to establish industries to take

³² Laws of Iowa, 1915, Ch. 257.

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the place of the contracts. They reported in 1916 that all contracts for prison labor had expired with the exception of the tool contract, which would terminate in November, 1917. The Thirty-seventh General Assembly, however, extended the limit on this contract until May 1, 1918. This was the last of the contract labor system in Iowa.33

With reference to Anamosa, the Board reported in 1916:

At this institution the butter tub factory, operated by the American Cooperage Company under the contract system, was taken over at a cost of \$5,000.00, and has been conducted as a prison industry since January 1, 1915.

The printing office and bindery have been improved and enlarged to care for the needs of the state institutions and Board of Control. It does no commercial business but furnishes instructive employment and fits many young men to accept and retain good positions upon release.

The tailor shop, tin shop, shoe and stone cutting departments provide useful and healthful employment to a large number of prisoners. The products of these industries are used at other state institutions.

The purchase of seventy-seven acres of quarry land in Lyon County, with its deposit of granite, will require the services of a hundred men at least, and supply a long felt demand for crushed rock, especially adapted to road building.

The situation at the Penitentiary at Fort Madison in 1916 as summed up by the Board of Control report was as follows:

To employ the men heretofore engaged on the contracts at this institution a chair and furniture factory has been established and equipped, at a cost of \$53,420.96, and a large investment has been required to provide a stock of material aggregating to \$58,009.52.

A contract has been entered into for the output of this factory, relieving the state of all expense and responsibility of the selling end of the business. The selling price is based upon the actual cost of material; salaries of foremen, superintendent and necessary em-

³³ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1914-1916, p. 43; Laws of Iowa, 1917, Ch. 328.

ployes; the cost of insurance; six per cent on the investment; ten per cent per annum for depreciation, and compensation to the prisoners, and on the total cost thus obtained the state receives ten per cent. This contract was entered into July 13, 1915, and runs for a period of ten years. One hundred and fifty men are employed by this industry.

The manufacture of rugs, brooms, harnesses, sweeping compound and other commodities gives useful employment to a large number of prisoners. Much of the output of these industries is sold to the state institutions, the surplus being disposed of on regular terms to the trade.³⁴

Thus by the end of 1915 the contract labor system had been legislated out of existence in Iowa penal institutions, although the tool contract was allowed to run until May 1, 1918. A number of industries for State use and State account were established to take the place of the other contracts. Each General Assembly, however, has authority to reverse decisions made by former legislatures, while work for the convicts continued to be a State problem.

LEGISLATION FROM 1924-1933

Although the last agreement for contract labor in Iowa expired on May 1, 1918, a form of this system, called the piece-price system, started soon after. In 1921 piece-price contracts were made with the Sterling Company of Chicago for the manufacture of aprons and house dresses at Anamosa. Similar contracts were made with the Reliance Company of Chicago for the manufacture of men's shirts at Fort Madison. Under these contracts the companies furnished the machines, materials, and inspectors; while the State provided the buildings and labor. A fixed sum per dozen was paid for the garments and the prisoners were paid for their work. The contracts were approved by the Attorney General.³⁵

³⁴ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1914-1916, pp. 43, 44.

³⁵ Haynes's Criminology, p. 320.

On December 29, 1923, an article in the Cedar Rapids Gazette called attention to the fact that the Reformatory at Anamosa was rapidly becoming an apron factory under a "drastic contracting method". Out of the 960 men confined in Anamosa 420 were employed in making aprons and dresses. The newspaper raised the question as to whether such work was reformatory in character as required by law. In addition, it remarked that the prisoners were at the mercy of the company's inspectors should they become arbitrary in determining the quality and quantity of the work. Constant attention on the part of the inspectors who were on the look-out for flaws might mean punishment for the prisoner. A case was cited of a negro convict who was insulted by the inspectors and criticized because of his work. The convict rebelled one day, knocked down one of the inspectors with his fist, and attacked him with a chair and a pair of scissors. As a result, the convict was punished by solitary confinement for many days.

Two days later the Gazette charged that the system in use at Anamosa and Fort Madison was industrial slavery at which "Abraham Lincoln would have exclaimed in deep and righteous indignation". The article, in addition, charged that while the original contract called for the employment of only 200 men at Anamosa, the contract had been extended to include more convicts, and that the Board of Control had no record of the extensions. The editor charged that the system was illegal, despite the confirmation of the Attorney General, and that the legislature should do something about it, if the Board did not act.

On January 2, 1924, the chairman of the Board of Control replied to the charges, stating that relatives of the convicts had asked that the inmates be placed at work so that they might receive their wages. He further stated that the charges made by the newspaper were made at the "instigation of New York business competitors of the companies controlling the output of aprons and shirts at the Fort Madison and Anamosa institutions.' The Gazette denied all such charges and advised that the Board be concerned with the reformation of the prisoner rather than making money for the State.³⁶

Within a few days the fight was taken up by the Cedar Rapids labor unions and it soon attracted the interest of a few State Senators and the public. As a result of this criticism, the Board of Control on March 19, 1924, cancelled the contracts at Fort Madison and Anamosa, to take effect on July 1, 1924. The Board expressed the opinion that although the prices received from the contracts were equal to what free labor received in 1921, comparative figures were difficult to obtain, and the members desired to keep within the law.

By this time the fight was on in earnest. Ever since the issue of piece-price contracts was raised, a special joint Board of Control committee had been working on a report to present to the General Assembly. Public hearings, in which members of the Board of Control, representatives of the contracting firms at Fort Madison and Anamosa, organized labor, the Cedar Rapids Gazette, and the public took part, were held. On March 27, 1924, the joint committee recommended the extension of contracts to July 1, 1927, after which time, the State use system would operate, and the matter of prison labor be left (as usual) to the next legislature to decide.³⁷

Organized labor was fighting to end the piece-price contracts on July 1, 1925, and for a State use law authorizing products to be sold only to State and municipal institutions.

³⁶ The Cedar Rapids Gazette, December 29, 31, 1923, January 2, 1924.

³⁷ The Cedar Rapids Gazette, January 3, 4, and 5, 1924; The Des Moines Register, March 20, 25, and 28, 1924; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1923–1924, p. 1215.

The labor lobby also demanded that the Board of Control be deprived of the power to make contracts. On April 25th the legislature was deadlocked, and a second joint committee on the Board of Control was appointed.

The joint resolution proposed by the new committee was adopted by the General Assembly on April 25th, and the bill was signed by the Governor on April 29th. By this act the legislature confirmed the cancellation of the former contracts, but gave the Board of Control authority to enter into new contracts to extend to July 1, 1927. In making such contracts they were to secure the same payment for the prison labor as for work in the same industries by free labor, taking into consideration the conditions.³⁸

In the code revision of 1924, provision was made for the operation of the State use law. The Board of Control was to furnish classified and itemized lists of articles made by the institutions under its control. These articles were to be sold to State, county, municipal, school, and township institutions at a price not to exceed that in the regular market and their purchase was made mandatory. If the Board of Control could not furnish the desired articles then the political subdivisions were to be permitted to buy in the open market. Should township trustees, county supervisors, or the State Highway Commission desire convicts to work on their roads, they could obtain such labor from the Board of Control, which determined the wages beforehand. Such labor was to be under the jurisdiction of the Board of Control.

Thus the second fight over convict labor ended in a compromise in 1924 with the piece-price contracts extended to 1927, after which time the State use law was to be operative. "The Board of Control and the legislature deemed

³⁸ The Des Moines Register, April 2, 25, and 26, 1924; Laws of Iowa, 1924, Extra Session, Ch. 49; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1923-1924, pp. 1696, 1697.

the three years necessary in order to make necessary changes in the manufacturing establishments of the two institutions so that they could be utilized in so-called 'non-competitive labor'."³⁹

The third consecutive fight over prison labor opened on February 12, 1927, when the Board of Control Committee in the House introduced a bill to suspend indefinitely the time when the State use system adopted three years before would go into effect. The bill had the support of the Board of Control which had never favored the State use system. Organized labor, however, was still opposed to the pieceprice contracts.

A public hearing was held at which organized labor and manufacturers of garments in competition with those made at the Iowa penal institutions argued against the further extension of the piece-price contracts. They pointed out the competition with free labor occasioned by the contracts and declared that such labor gives no moral benefits. The Board of Control and the manufacturers having contracts for prison labor at Fort Madison and Anamosa were also represented at the hearing. They argued for the further extension of the contracts and quoted figures to show the amount of money saved by the prisoners from their wages furnished under the contracts, and the profit to the State.

The House, with little opposition, passed the bill providing for the indefinite extension of the contracts. But the Senate, by a vote of 25 to 21, one ballot short of a constitutional majority, rejected the bill. The next day, however, the Senate reversed its position and passed the bill by a vote of 32 to 15. In a parliamentary tangle, the bill was amended by extending the period for contracts to July 1, 1929, and adding a provision for the use of trusties on pri-

³⁹ Code of 1924, Secs. 3757-3778; Van Ek's The Legislation of the Extra Session of the Fortieth General Assembly of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXIII, pp. 95, 96.

mary and State park roads. Two days later the House concurred in the Senate amendments.

The Forty-second General Assembly passed another law dealing with prison labor. This act provided for a revolving fund for the State penal institutions at Fort Madison and Anamosa to establish and maintain industries. This fund was to be composed of receipts from the sales of obsolete machinery and the products manufactured at the penal institutions.⁴⁰

To give some idea of the magnitude of the problem of prison labor at this time, the Board of Control in its report for 1926–1928 surveyed the changes in prison labor and prison industries from July 1, 1918, to July 1, 1928, covering developments from the time when contract labor ceased to 1928. During this time the work of the Board had much more than doubled.

July 1, 1918, there was in operation at these institutions, ten small industries, employing 342 prisoners.

July 1, 1928, the number of industries in operation totaled sixteen (nine large and seven small) employing 1,246 prisoners.

The state has invested in such industries — machinery, buildings and other equipment — the sum of \$1,102,669.43, as compared with an investment in 1918 of \$403,896.65. . . .

July 1, 1918, the Iowa prison population was 1,079; July 1, 1928, the population numbered 2,301, making an increase in the ten-year period of 1,222.

The receipts from the prison industries for the year ending July 1, 1918, were \$259,240.78, the amount of wages paid to prisoners working in the industries during that year was \$17,940, and the profit to the state for that year totaled \$41,808.37.

For the year ending July 1, 1928, the receipts were \$867,967.49, the amount of wages paid to prisoners was \$121,342.35, and the profits to the state for the year totaled \$212,399.47. The combined wages paid to prisoners and the profits totaled \$333,741.82.

40 The Des Moines Register, February 13, 25, 1927; Laws of Iowa, 1927, Chs. 78, 79; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1927, pp. 413, 706, 809; Journal of the Senate, 1927, pp. 653, 670, 671, 674.

During the ten year period the industries were developed to the present magnitude without any financial assistance from the legislature in the way of special appropriations, involving an expenditure of \$1,095,179.60 for buildings, machinery and raw materials for manufacturing the articles produced. . . .

In addition to the foregoing \$223,137.80 was paid from profits earned by the industries, for the following purposes: \$40,000 for farm land at the Clarinda State Hospital, \$88,137.80 for the support fund of the State Penitentiary, \$82,500 for special purposes at the Men's Reformatory, and \$32,500 for the support fund at the Men's Reformatory.

All of this has been accomplished without any tax levy or special legislative appropriation. . . .

Three systems of employing prisoners are in use in this state at this time: state account, piece price contract for output, and state use.

The furniture factory at the State Penitentiary is operated under the state account system. For some years the furniture was sold by the state to numerous jobbers in carload lots, but at the present time the output is sold to one firm on a merchandise sales contract, with a guarantee and bond. The state owns this plant and there are 281 prisoners employed therein.

The shirt factory at the State Penitentiary is operated under the piece price system, one firm taking the output, and this company owns the machinery. The average number of men employed in this factory is 269.

The apron factory at the Men's Reformatory is operated under the piece price system, one company taking the output of this industry and owning the machinery used therein. The number of prisoners employed in this factory is 398.

The total number of men employed in the three industries is 948. Operating under the state use system there are thirteen industries at the three penal institutions, manufacturing goods for use in the state institutions and county homes, as follows:

At the Men's Reformatory:

Tailoring and garment industry Soap factory Cheese factory Woodworking industry

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Shoe industry Printing and binding industry Auto license plate and road sign factory Sheet metal, tin and aluminum ware industry At the State Penitentiary:

Shoe industry Tailor shop Brush and broom factory Knitting industry

At the Women's Reformatory:

Sewing industry, manufacturing clothing for women and girls.

Operating under part State use at the State Penitentiary and the Men's Reformatory was the stone quarry industry, producing agricultural limestone for State institutions and for sale to owners of land in the vicinity of the institution. It also produced a quantity of crushed stone suitable for road work.

In State use and part State use industries, 270 prisoners were employed. In addition, 165 prisoners were employed on the different institutional farms and 57 in the various State parks. The balance of the prisoners were employed in other work around the institutions, such as operating power plants, cooking, serving meals, caring for the sick in hospitals, and in the general care of the institutions. The distribution, stated in tabular form, was as follows:

State (Public)) a	ccou	\mathbf{nt}				281
Piece-price							667
State use .							
Maintenance							873 41

The National Society of Penal Information visited the Iowa penal institutions in 1928 and gave its approval to the chief prison industries. As to the Men's Reformatory they reported: "Few penal institutions reported in this book

⁴¹ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1926-1928, pp. 15-18.

provide better working conditions or equipment." The soap factory and auto-tag shop were considered the most complete of their kind in the country. As to the Fort Madison Penitentiary the progress made there in the past three years was probably unsurpassed in the country. The improvements here were along the lines of industries, rules, and discipline.⁴²

By 1928, the Board of Control felt that the State use system had been extended to about the limit. They pointed out that Iowa had accomplished more in this line than any other State. The only additional industries that could be installed would be a mattress factory or a knitting plant which would at best employ 40 or 50 additional men a portion of the year. The industries now under State use, with the exception of the printing plant, could be enlarged, but this would necessitate employing a sales force.

The weakness in the present State use law was pointed out very clearly in the report.

While the law provides that political subdivisions, cities, counties and towns, and departments, commissions and boards, shall purchase such products from the Board of Control, there is no machinery for enforcing that law. Some are buying the product, others are not.

Under the present statute if they refuse to purchase such goods, that ends the matter.

Therefore, in order to make our state use industries a real success some teeth must be put in the law (by amendment) and the department of justice (attorney general) given the power to bring about enforcement following proper report and showing on the part of the Board of Control that the provisions of that statute are not being complied with by those in authority to make such purchases.⁴³

⁴² The National Society of Penal Information's Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories, 1929, pp. 324, 326-329, 334, 335, 337, 338.

⁴³ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1926-1928, pp. 18-20. (See legislation of 1931 in the following pages.)

In 1929 the problem of the employment of prisoners was again brought to the attention of the legislature. The Governor, in his inaugural address, praised the work of the Board of Control and declared that the State use law should be repealed. He pointed out that under the law there was too much likelihood for the men to be idle, and that the Iowa penal institutions would be either institutions or mad houses depending upon the amount of employment for the prisoners. On the 23rd of January, a bill was read in the House which proposed to eliminate the time limit on the piece-price contracts. This bill was backed by the Board of Control which desired to continue the contracts at least until Federal legislation was enacted.

Organized labor, which favored the State use law, determined to fight the bill to the last ditch. On February first, the fight of organized labor took another form when the Coöperative Legislative Council of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, demanded that the Governor should not reappoint the chairman of the Board of Control. The chairman, formerly a president of the State labor organization, had reversed his position as to contract labor. The labor body demanded that the Governor appoint someone else chairman of the Board when this member's term expired.

On February 8th, the Board of Control Committee in the House reported out the bill eliminating the expiration date for prison labor contracts recommending its passage. Evidently the committee considered the need for keeping prisoners employed more important than any ill effects that might result from competition of prison-made goods with those manufactured by free labor. Six days later the House passed the bill by a vote of 75 to 30 after defeating two amendments to extend the time of contracts to July 1, 1931, and July 1, 1933, and a number of amendments relating to payment of prisoners.

In the Senate the bill was reported favorably by a unanimous vote of the Board of Control Committee, and four days later the Senate voted to conduct a public hearing. The president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor declared that the Governor and the Board of Control were "in the clutches of prison labor contractors". Three amendments were offered in the Senate—to extend the time of making contracts to July 1, 1931, which was defeated by a vote of 14 to 33; to pay prisoners employed in making aprons a minimum daily wage of \$2, which was defeated by a 16 to 31 vote; and to pay prisoners a minimum daily wage of \$1.50, which was beaten, 17 to 28. The bill as it left the House was passed by the Senate by a vote of 32 to 16.

The exhaustive report of the Board of Control played a prominent part in the legislative session of 1929. Copies were furnished each legislator, and the prison labor bill was given special attention. The General Assembly passed the bill to extend indefinitely the time of piece-price contracts and thus accepted the contention of the Board that the State use system had been extended to the limit.⁴⁴

In 1930 the Board of Control reported that the prison industries were making good. The total number of prisoners employed in the three Iowa penal institutions was 1484. The total receipts for the preceding two years were \$2,586,551.96; while the wages paid to the prisoners reached a total of \$298,272.43. The net profit to the State for the two years was \$495,293.36. Four industries showed a deficit—the manufacturing of screw drivers (which had been discontinued) and the shoe industry at Anamosa and the quarry and knitting industries at Fort Madison.

⁴⁴ Journal of the House of Representatives, 1929, pp. 78, 79, 120, 256, 334, 335; The Des Moines Register, January 18, 27, February 2, 8, 16, 19, 22, 1929; Laws of Iowa, 1929, Ch. 87; Journal of the Senate, 1929, pp. 331, 429-432.

Several new industries had been added since the preceding report. The principal one was weaving of cloth to be used for blankets, toweling, ticking, and for many other purposes for use at State institutions. This industry gave employment to approximately 100 men and could be enlarged. Equipment had been purchased and installed for the manufacturing of hose and underwear used at State institutions. Another new industry was the making of sanitary supplies such as disinfectants, deodorizers, cleaning powder, insecticides, floor wax, and similar items under the State use system. The Board was extending the State use system wherever it was possible to do so.

There was an increase in the population of the penal institutions. For the period ending June 30, 1930, there were 1235 prisoners at the State Penitentiary; 1263 at the Men's Reformatory; and 102 at the Women's Reformatory. This made a total of 2600 inmates in 1930 as compared with 2301 for the period ending July 1, 1928. According to the report, these institutions were caring for about 4 per cent more inmates than the capacity of the institutions allowed.⁴⁵

In his farewell address to the legislature in January, 1931, Governor Hammill pointed out that the enforcement of the Hawes-Cooper Act, Federal legislation which was to go into effect in 1934, would in effect destroy the contract system since it authorizes States to close markets to prison-made goods. He concluded that the prison authorities must act quickly for the alternatives were either riot or reorganization. Governor Dan W. Turner in his inaugural address pointed out that the employment of prisoners was an "urgent problem and one of immediate necessity." ¹⁴⁶

Due to the fact that the attention of the legislature was directed to investigations and other problems, the employ-

⁴⁵ Biennial Report of the Board of Control, 1928-1930, pp. 6, 7, 16, 17.

⁴⁶ Journal of the Senate, 1931, pp. 45, 95; The Des Moines Register, January 14, 16, 1931; Laws of Iowa, 1931, Ch. 75.

ment of prisoners did not receive much attention in 1931. The State use law was amended to provide for a fine of \$100 for any public officer who wilfully refused or wilfully neglected to buy products needed by his office or institution from the Board of Control. No mention was made of the machinery for carrying this punishment into effect.

The General Assembly which met in January, 1933, was, apparently, interested in the market for goods and in the elimination of the competition offered by prison-made products. There was no provision as to what products were to be made by prisoners, nor the system to be used by the Board of Control, but a bill was passed which required that after January 19, 1934, all goods made in prisons of this State or any other State must, when offered for sale in Iowa, be plainly labelled as prison-made. The date fixed is the date when the so-called Hawes-Cooper Act became effective. This act was adopted by Congress on January 19, 1929, and permits States to regulate the sale of goods made in penal institutions, irrespective of their interstate character.⁴⁷

PUBLIC OPINION AND PRISON LABOR

Public opinion is often vague and intangible, especially toward a social welfare problem in which few people are personally interested. In regard to the system of prison labor to be used in Iowa penal institutions, public opinion, with the exception of organized labor, has been difficult to determine. Some idea of what the people thought about it—if they thought about it—may be obtained from the writings of public men, the actions of organizations, and editorials and articles in newspapers and magazines.

Prior to 1912, it appears that the people of Iowa were definitely committed to the contract system of prison labor.

⁴⁷ Laws of Iowa, 1933, Ch. 50; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XLV, p. 1084.

The Commissioner who was appointed to represent Iowa at the meeting of the International Prison Congress at Brussells, Belgium, in 1900, declared that he was in favor of the contract system. His reasons were mainly as follows: (1) very little investment required; (2) small expense for supervision; (3) no risk of being unable to dispose of the products at a fair price; and (4) no question as to whether the State should invade the field of business.⁴⁸

By 1911, however, a feeling that the contract labor system was wrong in principle had developed. At the meeting of the State Conference of Charities and Correction that year, this idea was discussed. One of the principal speakers condemned that system as slavery. He proposed to substitute the making of twine and farm machinery as suitable occupations for prison labor. In addition, he recommended that the State run its own printing shop and bindery for public documents, and in addition, that a prison farm would be advisable. As an incentive to good work, he recommended that prisoners be paid a maximum wage of 85 per cent of the regular wage scale of free labor, depending upon the efficiency of the prisoner. The minimum he set at 60 per cent. After a deduction for the cost of maintenance and five per cent for a charity fund, the remainder of the prisoner's earnings were to be sent to his dependents. case he had none, 40 per cent of this remainder was to go to the county which had the expense of convicting him, while the rest was to be put in a savings account for him. In the discussion which followed, it was suggested that perhaps the injured party of the prisoner's crime should come in for a part of his wages. Still another suggestion was given to the effect that the State establish a clothing factory and furnish the products to dependents of the prisoners at a nominal cost.

⁴⁸ Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, 1900, Vol. II, p. S1.

At the meeting of the organization the following year, the warden of the Penitentiary at Fort Madison declared that a prison should be an industrial center, and that the problem of prison labor would adjust itself as does free labor on the outside. He recommended that prisoners be employed at the task of supplying articles and goods for use at State institutions. The Committee on Correction at this time recommended that the contract labor system be prohibited. It was during the year 1912 that the Cosson Report was made.⁴⁹

In 1912 the chairman of the Board of Control, G. S. Robinson, wrote a monograph concerning the employment of prisoners. His conclusions were as follows: (1) that prisoners should not be employed in places frequented by the public if an armed guard is necessary; (2) the contract system should be abolished and the State use system substituted; (3) the most desirable form of outdoor work for prisoners is farming, gardening, stock raising, and dairying; (4) goods made for State use in excess of the wants of State institutions should be sold on State account with as little competition as possible; and (5) all well-behaved prisoners should receive a substantial share of the value of the goods that they produce as wages, to be determined according to the conduct, application, and skill, and the work that the prisoners do.⁵⁰

Stories written by convicts in Iowa have not been very numerous. The only one in published form was written in 1885 by a convict who was confined at Fort Madison for two years. The only system that he saw in operation was the contract labor system. The title of his book, *Two Years in the Slave-Pen of Iowa*, is descriptive of his attitude.

⁴⁹ Proceedings of the State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1911, Vol. XIII, pp. 73-78, 81, 82, 85, 1912, Vol. XIV, pp. 111, 112.

⁵⁰ Robinson's Employment of Prisoners (1912), p. 20.

All through this convict's narrative he maintains that contract labor is nothing more than slavery. In fact, he declares that it is worse than slavery, because slaves usually could live with their families while the convict can not. The prisoners were compelled to work so hard and such long hours that they often became run down in health. The foreman, anxious to make a good record and thus impress the contractors, would see to it that the prisoners were punished for every offense, and many a convict spent his time chained to the cell door, while others were confined to the dark hole to be fed on bread and water. A few years before this time, the "flying trapeze" had been used as a punishment.

At this time, the contract industries at Fort Madison were the manufacturers of chairs, boots and shoes, and tools. The injuries of a physical nature that resulted from work on these contracts is vividly described by the prisoner. Many prisoners were maimed for life while others had parts of their lungs destroyed by the dust from the emery wheel. Many fainted because of the intense heat in the shops. The death rate of the Penitentiary was kept low because those prisoners who were about to die were pardoned and sent home to die. Many became insane and were confined in the wards for the insane.

As to the actual competition between contract and free labor the author reduces this to a discussion of the actual costs of producing each article. He calculated that the contractors were able to manufacture chairs with wooden bottoms at a little over 13 1/3 cents apiece, while chairs with cane bottoms were made at a cost of around 15 1/3 cents each. The tool contract was more difficult to estimate, but he calculated that the contractors were able to make forks for about one cent each, ox yokes at 15 cents and cradles at 10 cents. He estimated that shoes were pro-

duced at a cost of 35 cents per pair. With such costs manufacturers on the outside could not compete.⁵¹

Perhaps the most potent influence in determining the course of prison labor legislation in Iowa has been the attitude of organized labor. A part of its machinery, specifically provided for in the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor is the legislative committee and the committee on proposed legislation. These committees have drafted many bills and maintained an extensive lobby in the General Assembly, and many of the bills have been concerned with the problem of prison labor.

The Iowa State Federation of Labor, in general, has been more concerned with the economic phase of prison labor than with its humanitarian aspects. The organization recognizes that prisoners must be employed, but it has insisted that such employment shall not be directly competitive with free labor,⁵² a difficult problem, since any labor of convicts competes in some way with free labor.

As early as 1898 the Iowa State Federation of Labor went on record as being opposed to the contract labor system because under that system goods were being placed on the market at ruinous prices, and the organization has constantly opposed the use of convicts in industry except for State use.

In 1909 the president asserted that it was inconsistent for the Board of Control to continue a non-reformative system of prison labor at Anamosa which had been recently changed from a penitentiary to a reformatory. As long as contract labor existed at Anamosa, he said, it would be useless to attack the stronghold at Fort Madison. The convention again went on record as opposed to contract labor, and

⁵¹ Smith's Two Years in the Slave-Pen of Iowa, pp. 99-123, 188-199.

⁵² Stuckey's The Iowa State Federation of Labor, p. 93.

in addition passed a resolution favoring the passage of the Ream Bill, which provided for the payment of jail prisoners at work in the counties. The next year the Federation prepared to influence the appointment of three members of the Board of Control who would not let "financial results blind them to the real issue." In 1912 and 1913 the convention discussed the Cosson Report, and went on record as approving it.⁵³

In 1913, the committee on labels reported on the urgent necessity of continuing agitation in favor of union labels which would eventually wipe out goods made in penal institutions. A resolution was passed urging the officials of Iowa to investigate the warden at Fort Madison because he had been encouraging the employment of convicts in the city of Fort Madison. In 1914 the Federation was backing the Board of Control in their efforts to rid the State of the contract labor system. The president urged the members of the Federation to aid the Board in finding employment for the prisoners then under contract. It was also during this time that the Iowa State Federation of Labor found out that a large wholesale hardware company was buying the products made at Fort Madison, and in coöperation with the American Federation of Labor, they gave the company so much unfavorable publicity that the company was forced to discontinue its purchases, since public opinion against prison made goods was strong enough to affect the market for their merchandise.54

In 1915 the contract system of prison labor was prohibited by legislation although the final contract did not expire until 1918. In 1924, however, organized labor again took

⁵³ Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 10, 1899, pp. 35, 36; Official Labor Gazette and Directory, 1909, pp. 109, 137, 161, 1910, p. 77, 1912, pp. 177-179, 1913, pp. 99-101.

⁵⁴ Official Labor Gazette and Directory, 1913, pp. 121, 125, 153, 1914, pp. 81-83.

up the fight, this time against the piece-price contracts, claiming that this form of prison labor was nothing more than a clever subterfuge.⁵⁵

DONALD W. BROOKMAN

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⁵⁵ Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1926, pp. 39, 49.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Civilization of the Old Northwest: A Study of Political, Social, and Economic Development, 1788-1812. By Beverly W. Bond, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. 543. The publication of this book is indeed opportune for Iowans since the year 1934 marks the centennial anniversary of our attachment to Michigan Territory which formed a part of the region northwest of the Ohio. The author has aimed to "present a composite view of the civilization" of the Old Northwest over the twentyfive year period extending from the founding of Marietta in 1788 to the outbreak of the War of 1812. The book contains sixteen chapters. The first deals with the establishment of an American colonial policy over the region. Chapter two delineates eastern newspaper interest in the Old Northwest together with the routes by which the settlers filtered into the region. The next six chapters are political in character, dealing with the territorial government of the Old Northwest, the admission of Ohio as a State, and the territorial period in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan down to 1812. The conquest of the Indians forms the text for chapter nine. The remaining seven chapters are identified by their headings: "The Distribution of the Land", "Pioneer Agriculture". "Opening up Communication", "The Rise of Trade and Industry", "Cultural and Social Foundations", "Religion Order", and "The American Colonial Policy Vindicated". There is no bibliography but footnotes have been generously used which reveal the indefatigable labors of the author in newspapers, journals, manuscripts, and official documents. The book is a valuable contribution to western Americana and should prove both interesting and instructive to Iowans.

The Pacific Historical Review for December, 1933, includes an article by Blake McKelvey on Penology in the Westward Movement.

The January issue of Americana includes an article by Frederic A. Godcharles on Transportation in Pennsylvania, an interesting cross section of transportation in America.

Lahontan in Minnesota, by Stephen Leacock; Frontier Ford, by Evadene A. Burris; The Frontier Press of Minnesota, by Herman Roe; and Some Sources of Northwest History—The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine are the four contributions to Minnesota History for December, 1933.

Some Effects of the American Civil War on Canadian Agriculture, by Fred Landon; Rise of Tobacco Warehouse Auction System in Virginia, 1800–1860, by Joseph Clarke Robert; and Social and Agrarian Background of the Pilgrim Fathers, by G. E. Fussell, are the three articles in Agricultural History for October, 1933.

Pomo Myths, by S. A. Barrett, makes up Volume XV of the Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. The Excavation of Ross Mound Group I, by Philleo Nash; and The Red Cedar River Variant of the Wisconsin Hopewell Culture, by L. R. Cooper, appear in numbers one and two of Volume XVI of this series.

Kentucky's "Ancient Buried City", by T. M. Lewis; Large Native Copper Knives, by Ralph Guentzel; and The Society of Dreamers and the O-Ge-Che-Dah, or Head-Men Dance of the Bois Fort (Ojibwe) Indians of Nett Lake, Minnesota, by Albert B. Reagan, are the three articles in The Wisconsin Archeologist for January, 1934.

A Bachelor General (August Willich), by Charles D. Stewart; The Sign of the Cross, by Hjalmar R. Holand; James R. Doolittle, by James L. Sellers; The Pioneer Taverns, by W. A. Titus; and Memoirs of William George Bruce, Ch. VII, are the papers and articles in The Wisconsin Magazine of History for December, 1933.

The Historical Outlook, a monthly magazine devoted to the teaching of history, ceased publication with the close of 1933.

In January, 1934, a new periodical, *The Social Studies*, under the trusteeship of the American Historical Association, took the place of the *Outlook*. The new publication is directed by a committee with William G. Kimmel as managing editor.

Oliver Newbury, by George B. Catlin; Trial and Punishment of the Patriots Captured at Windsor in December 1838, by Fred Landon; The Michigan Constitution of 1908; or Constitution-Making Since 1850, by D. C. Shilling; A Negro Slave in Detroit When Detroit Was Canadian, by William Renwick Riddell; and extracts from the diary of George David on a trip from London to Chicago in 1833, make up the winter number of the Michigan History Magazine.

The Indiana Magazine of History for December, 1933, contains the following papers and articles: The Red Man of the Wabash, by Elmore Barce; The Lincoln Legend, by Christopher B. Coleman; The Wabash County Pioneer Society, by Leola Hockett; Walter Q. Gresham, by Martha Alice Tyner; Cravenhurst, by Julie Le Clerc Knox; The Henry Bryan Family, by Emily Anderson King; The John Bryan Family, by William Lowe Bryan; and The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain: Letters to the Vincennes Sun.

In December, 1933, the Missouri Historical Society began the publication of a small pamphlet series under the title Glimpses of the Past. The first number contains Holidays in Old St. Louis. The second number, dated January, 1934, includes a letter concerning the defenses at St. Louis in 1812 and Indian Oratory. It is intended to publish in these pamphlets miscellaneous extracts from manuscripts and other records on file in the library.

The January issue of the Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society contains the following articles and addresses: Douglas' Place in American History, an address by George Fort Milton; Early Industries in Perry County, by Paul Rich; The Second Illinois in the Mexican War: Mexican War Letters of Adolph Engelmann, 1846–1847, translated and edited by Otto B. Engelmann; New Salem: The Dedication Ceremonies; and Mel-

ville E. Stone. Under Historical Notes there is an account of the one hundredth anniversary of the Methodist Church of Abingdon, by David F. Nelson, and The Sauk Trail in Kendall County, by J. M. Postle.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for December, 1933, contains the following articles: Interrelations Between the Fur Trade of Canada and the United States, by Harold A. Innis; Federal Indian Management in the South, 1789–1825, by R. S. Cotterill; Thomas S. Twiss, Indian Agent on the Upper Platte, 1855–1861, by Alban W. Hoopes; Tennessee Politics and the Agrarian Revolt, 1886–1896, by Daniel M. Robison; The Middle West in 1837: Translations from the Notes of an Italian Count, Francesco Arese, by Lynn M. Case; and The Proposed Settlement of New Ireland in Kentucky, edited by Frank Monaghan.

IOWANA

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Iowa has recently issued a Lineage Record of the Members of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Iowa, compiled by Mrs. Russell L. Rankin.

The *Iowa Transit* for December, 1933, contains a biographical sketch, by Kenneth E. Ristau, of Professor Floyd A. Nagler, of the University of Iowa, who died on November 10, 1933. This number also includes *Military Engineering at Iowa*, by Donald E. Nelson.

Judge Orlando C. Howe, by F. I. Herriott; The Know Nothing Party in Des Moines County, by L. O. Leonard; William Savage, Iowa Pioneer, Diarist and Painter of Birds; and An Original Study of Mesquakie (Fox) Life, Pt 2, are the four articles in the Annals of Iowa for January.

The Progress of Broadcasting, by John T. Howes, is one of the articles in The Iowa Transit for January, 1934. Twenty-Five Years of Mecca, by Samuel S. Oleesky; and Municipal Electrical Plants in Iowa, by C. Maxwell Stanley, are two articles of general interest in the February number.

"The Pioneer Pottawattamies" Burial of an Indian Chief and Other Notes has recently been published in pamphlet form by The Hamburg Reporter. "The Pioneer Pottawattamies", was written by D. A. Sharp. The story of the burial of the Indian chief was told by E. A. Shirley to Fred W. Hill.

Three Generations of Iowa Physicians—The Doctors Kinnaman, from data prepared by Dr. J. H. Kinnaman, and a continuation of The History of Medicine in Lucas County, by Tom Morford Throckmorton and Tom Bentley Throckmorton, are two articles of historical interest in The Journal of the Iowa State Historical Society for December, 1933. The second article is continued in the numbers for January and February, 1934.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Ames, Edward S.,

Three Great Words of Religion (Christian Century, December 13, 1933).

Ashbaugh, Ernest J.,

Citizenship Training at the College Level (School and Society, February 3, 1934).

Bain, Harry Foster,

World Mineral Production and Control (Foreign Affairs, July, 1933).

Bay, J. Christian,

The Leigh Hunt Collection of Luther Albertus Brewer. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1933.

Becker, Carl Lotus,

Freedom of Speech (The Nation, January 24, 1934).

Beer, Thomas,

Gregrampa (The Saturday Evening Post, January 13, 1934).
Nero Had Him Three Wives (The Saturday Evening Post, December 16, 1933).

Blackmar, Beatrice, (Mrs. Bruce Gould) (Joint author)

The Money Touch (The Saturday Evening Post, January 20, 1934).

Bliss, Marion Louise,

To Those Who Live on the Land (poem) (Christian Century, October 18, 1933).

Bliven, Bruce,

Century of Treadmill (The New Republic, November 15, 1933).

Corn Belt Cracks Down (The New Republic, November 22, 1933).

Milo Reno and His Farmers (The New Republic, November 29, 1933).

New England Is Waiting (The New Republic, December 20, 1933).

Bolton, Frederick E.,

Professional Library in the School System (School and Society, January 13, 1934).

Brueckner, Leo John, (Joint author)

Optimum Order of Arrangement of Items in a Diagnostic Test (The Elementary School Journal, January, 1934).

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Nature's Wisdom (poem) (The Saturday Evening Post, January 13, 1934).

Colegrove, Kenneth,

Powers and Functions of the Japanese Diet (The American Political Science Review, December, 1933, February, 1934).

Conard, Henry Shoemaker,

Units of Plant Sociology (Science, September 15, 1933).

Cook, Elizabeth, (Mrs. Louis H. Cook)

Advice on Pullmans (The Delineator, November, 1933).

Walls and Roads (The Delineator, October, 1933).

Why Be a Parent? (The Delineator, December, 1933).

Cosson, George,

The Iowa Idea — A Basic Plan for National Recovery (Northwestern Banker, December, 1933).

Crawford, Nelson Antrim,

Lady Cops in Cap and Gown (The American Mercury, October, 1933).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Caroline (poem) (Good Housekeeping, January, 1934).

Home-Hunger (poem) (Good Housekeeping, September, 1933).

Leisure (poem) (Good Housekeeping, December, 1933).

Needlepoint (poem) (Good Housekeeping, February, 1934).

Dawson, A. F.,

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SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

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- The Jumbo artesian well, in the Belle Plaine Union, August 31, 1933.
- A forgotten townsite near Sheldon, by Helen Brock, in the Sioux City Journal, August 31, 1933.
- How LeGrand got its name, in the LeGrand Reporter, September 1, 1933.
- Difficulties of pioneer farmers told by W. W. Dunn, in the *Clinton Herald*, September 1, 1933.
- Pictorial history of Village Creek Swedish Baptist Church, in the Waukon Standard, September 6, 1933.
- Oelwein founded sixty years ago, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, September 9, and the Waterloo Courier, September 10, 1933.
- The story of Burlington, in the Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette, September 11, 12, 1933.
- Linn County pioneers, by Mary Durham, in the Marion Sentinel, September 14, 21, 1933.
- The bar and courts of Washington County, by John Owen, in the Washington Journal, September 16, 1933.
- Laura King tells of early Marion County, in the *Knoxville Journal*, September 21, 1933.
- Negro settlers in Sioux City recalled by F. B. Leitch, in the Sioux City Tribune, September 25, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Emily Magoun Miller, by W. G. Ray, in the Grinnell Herald, September 26, 1933.
- How Decorah kept the county seat, by E. C. Bailey, in the *Decorah Journal*, September 27, 1933.

- Northwest Iowa in 1857, from letters by John Leavitt, in the Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle, September 27, 1933.
- When was Hamburg settled, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, September 28, 1933.
- Token money at Algona, by Donald P. Dewell, in the Algona Advance, September 28, 1933.
- Genealogical notes of Washington County, by Mrs. C. A. Spear, in the Washington Democrat-Independent, September 28, November 9, and the Washington Journal, November 23, December 9, 1933.
- The Washington County fair, by Frances McConnell, in the Washington Journal, September 30, 1933.
- Search of A. J. Hammer for Indian relics, in the *Chariton Leader*, October 3, 1933.
- A revision of the Kate Shelley story, in the Ames Tribune, October 3, and the Knoxville Journal, October 19, 1933.
- C. A. Hartwig tells of pioneer conditions in Mitchell County, in the *Britt Tribune*, October 4, 1933.
- McSwain's Mill at Moneek, by R. O. Jagerson, in the *Decorak Journal*, October 4, 1933.
- The Robert Emmet statue at Emmetsburg, in the Emmetsburg Democrat, October 5, 1933.
- The founding of Wheatland, in the Clinton Herald, October 5, 1933.
- An incident in Indian education at Tama, by W. I. Endicott, in the Traer Star-Clipper, October 6, 1933.
- Washington opera houses, by Alice Shelangoski, in the Washington Journal, October 7, 1933.
- First Presbyterian Church at Marshalltown is seventy-five years old, in the Marshalltown Times-Republican, October 9, 1933.

- The Des Moines River land grant, by Harvey Ingham, in the Des Moines Register, October 9, 1933.
- How Bingham became Woden, in the Britt Tribune, October 11, 1933.
- Packets on the Mississippi River listed by Walter A. Blair, in the Lansing Journal, October 11, 1933.
- The date on the cornerstone of the Capitol at Des Moines, in the Des Moines Tribune, October 16, 1933.
- History of Buchanan County, in the *Independence Conservative*, October 18, 25, 1933.
- The blizzard of October 11, 1880, in the Ocheyedan Arrow, October 19, 1933.
- Speeches by Enoch W. Eastman, in the *Eldora Ledger*, October 19, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas P. Hollowell, in the Fort Madison Democrat and the Des Moines Tribune, October 20, 1933.
- How Waukon was named, in the Lansing Journal, October 25, 1933.
- Quaker meeting house at Salem was built in 1839, in the Ottumwa Courier, October 25, 1933.
- History of St. Elizabeth's Parish, Keokuk County, by Reverend J. Adam, in the *Keokuk County* (Sigourney) News, October 26, 1933.
- Waldorf College celebrates thirtieth anniversary, in the Forest City Summit, October 26, November 2, 1933.
- Settlement and growth of Buchanan County, by Paul G. Miller, in the *Independence Constitution*, November 1, 29, December 6, 1933, January 10, 17, 24, 1934.
- The "haunted swale" in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the Madrid Register, November 2, 1933.
- Congregational Church at Algona was founded in 1858, in the Algona Advance, November 2, 1933.

- Indians sold land for whisky, in the Chariton Herald-Patriot, November 2, 1933.
- First polo game in Iowa was at Le Mars, in the Sibley Gazette-Tribune, November 2, 1933.
- Jesse James at Guttenberg, in the *Dyersville Commercial*, November 2, 1933.
- Ansel Briggs at Andrew, in the Clinton Herald, November 2, 1933.
- Baptist Church at Anamosa seventy-five years old, by A. L. Remley, in the *Anamosa Eureka*, November 2, 1933.
- Sketch of the career of A. H. Bergman, in the Des Moines Register, November 3, and the Newton News, November 6, 1933.
- Old cemeteries near Essex, in the Shenandoah Sentinel, November 3, 1933.
- Methodist Episcopal Church of Linn Grove observes eightieth anniversary, in the *Indianola Record*, November 3, 1933.
- Antin Berdahl, last of stage coach drivers, in the Estherville News, November 4, 1933.
- The Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company lands, in the Oskaloosa Herald, November 4, 1933.
- Joseph C. Garland and early Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, November 5, 1933.
- Some history of Iowa Wesleyan College, in the Des Moines Register, November 5, 1933.
- Jails in Mahaska County, in the Oskaloosa Herald, November 6, 1933.
- Congregational Church at Charles City celebrates seventy-fifth anniversary in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, November 6, and the *Charles City Press*, November 11, 1933.
- Garner and Britt were rivals for county seat, in the Garner Leader, November 8, 1933.

- Sketch of the life of Edward P. Heizer, in the Des Moines Tribune, November 9, 1933.
- Early days in Knoxville, in the Knoxville Journal, November 9, 1933.
- Dubuque County before 1880, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, November 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, December 7, 13, 1933.
- Early churches of Anamosa, in the Anamosa Journal, November 9, 1933.
- Arbitration in Boone County in early days, in the Madrid Register, November 9, 1933.
- Maquoketa has been county seat sixty years, in the *Davenport* Democrat, November 10, 1933.
- J. G. Waers chiseled his name on Iowa capitol, in the Des Moines Tribune, November 11, 1933.
- The Lutheran plans for a church, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, November 11, 1933.
- Semira A. Hobbs taught first school in Mahaska County, in the Oskaloosa Herald, November 13, 1933.
- Charles Grey, painter, formerly lived in Keokuk County, in the Sigourney News, November 16, and the Keota Eagle, November 23, 1933.
- Mrs. W. T. Dooley was first woman elector from Iowa, by Elizabeth O'Bryon, in the Marshalltown Times, November 16, 1933.
- Early Alden history, by G. F. Bigelow, in the *Alden Times*, November 16, December 14, 21, 28, 1933, January 11, 1934.
- Pioneer days near Swea City, by C. F. Sperbeck, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, November 16, 1933.
- Genealogical notes of Poweshiek County, by Mrs. F. R. Porter, in the *Grinnell Herald*, November 17, 24, 1933.
- Tabor was once a station on the Underground Railroad, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, November 19, 1933.

- Sketch of the life of Leon Clay Pumphrey, by Henry F. Pumphrey, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, November 20, 1933.
- Sketch of the life of Herman Knapp, in the Ames Tribune, November 20, 1933.
- First land sales for Mahaska County held at Fairfield, in the Oskaloosa Herald, November 20, 1933.
- First meeting of commissioners of Polk County was held April 13, 1846, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 20, 1933.
- Methodist Episcopal Church of De Witt is ninety years old, in the De Witt Observer, November 23, and the Clinton Herald, November 30, December 4, 1933.
- James Donley and John F. Rouse in Marion County, in the *Knox-ville Journal*, November 23, 1933.
- Adventures of Richard A. Lyons, by Estelle LePrevost, in the *Clinton Herald*, November 30, 1933.
- Attempted lynching at Burlington, in the Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette, December 2, 1933.
- Meskwakies and other Indians, by W. I. Endicott, in the Marshall-town Times-Republican, December 5, 1933.
- Transportation was difficult in 1849, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register*, December 7, 1933.
- Fifty years of the Monticello Express, in the Monticello Express, December 7, 1933.
- George G. Banghart, Cascade's first merchant, in the Cascade Pioneer, December 7, 1933.
- Historical sketch of the Knoxville Baptist Church, in the Knox-ville Journal, December 7, 1933.
- Historical sketch of Farmington, by Mrs. Alice Jack, in the Farmington News, December 7, 1933.
- First events in Spencer, in the Spencer News, December 8, 1933.

- Cedar Rapids in 1886, by John Henderson, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, December 10, 1933.
- When Dubuque was proposed as the national capital, in the *Dubuque Herald*, December 10, 1933.
- Sketch of the career of James Baird Weaver, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, December 12, 19, 1933.
- The passing of Iowa mounds, by William Bakewell, in the Lansing Journal, December 13, 1933.
- James E. Harlan was president of Cornell College, 1908-1914, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 13, 1933.
- When William A. Beaver shod horses in Ida Grove, by Stanley J. Mead, in the *Ida County Record*, December 14, 1933.
- Iowa's first broadcasting station, in the *Chariton Herald*, December 14, 1933.
- Dust storms in 1879-1880, in the Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune, December 14, 1933.
- Schools of Monticello, in the Monticello Express, December 14, 1933.
- Dannevirke, society of Danish men, celebrates sixtieth anniversary, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 16, 1933.
- Rise and fall of Bradford Academy, by H. A. Dwelle, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, December 22, 1933.
- When stock in Des Moines oil wells was for sale, in the *Indianola Herald*, December 28, 1933.
- Old saber or sword found near Centerville, in the Centerville Iowegian, December 28, 1933.
- The battle at Bellevue, in the Marshalltown Times-Republican.

 December 28, 1933, and the Clinton Herald, January 3, 1934.
- Association of river pilots at the upper rapids of the Mississippi River, by W. A. Frewert, in the *Davenport Times*, December 30, 1933.

- Sketch of the life of Dexter C. Bloomer, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, December 30, 1933.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society has stove which warmed the first legislators of Iowa, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 30, 1933.
- Iowa's "Grey Beard" regiment, in the Iowa City Press-Citizen, January 1, 1934.
- When George F. Parker edited the *Indianola Tribune*, in the *Indianola Tribune*, January 3, 1934.
- Home of Theophile Brughier at Sioux City, by Mrs. Gertrude Henderson, in the Sioux City Tribune, January 6, 1934.
- Pioneers at Nora Springs, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, January 6, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Alice French (Octave Thanet), in the Davenport Democrat, January 9, 1934.
- The Mormon trail from Davis County to the Missouri River, by Austin Jay, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 16, 1934.
- The first railroads in southeastern Iowa, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 1934.
- The Indians in Appanoose County, by C. A. Hornaday, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 1934.
- The Underground Railroad at Cincinnati, Iowa, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 1934.
- The early history of Numa and Appanoose County, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 1934.
- The ferry at Chariton, in the Centerville Iowegian, January 10, 1934.
- Early railroads at Oskaloosa, by Mrs. H. L. White, in the Sigourney News, January 11, 1934.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Possibilities of an Historical Museum, by Harlow Lindley, is one of the contributions in Museum Echoes for January, 1934.

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting at the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis on January 26, 1934. The address of the evening, by McCune Gill, was on "St Louis Duels".

Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., is collecting materials for a biography of Senator John Sherman of Ohio, a brother of Hoyt Sherman, pioneer and business man of Des Moines. Letters and other materials concerning John Sherman are being sought in Iowa as in other States.

IOWA

The Centerville Iowegian issued an historical edition on January 10, 1934.

The first of a series of pictures relating to Iowa history appeared in the photogravure section of the *Des Moines Sunday Register* for February 25, 1934.

Cloyce Crooks won first prize in the Keokuk County history contest, on a history of St. Elizabeth's School at Harper. Keith Wymore won the second prize with a history of the Gibson Consolidated School and Dwight Fox was given third place on the story of the Friends schoolhouse at Coal Creek.

The Historical Society of Howard County held a monthly meeting at Cresco on November 13, 1933. Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth gave a talk on the early business section of Cresco under the title, "Who Is Who and Where Is Where". The tenth annual meeting of the Society was held on January 8, 1934. Officers elected for 1934 were as follows: Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth, president; J. H. Howe, vice president; C. J. Harlan, secretary; William Kellow, treasurer; and Mrs. Farnsworth, curator.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

On March 6, 1934, Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave a talk on "Centennials in Iowa History" to the Madison County Historical Society at Winterset. In the evening he gave an illustrated public lecture on "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi" in the Winterset high school building.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes of Cornell College, who for a number of years has been working on an archaeological survey of Iowa for the State Historical Society, gave an illustrated talk on the mounds of Iowa before the University Club at Iowa City on January 14, 1934. On January 27th he gave a talk on Iowa archaeology before a luncheon meeting of the Dubuque Women's Club.

On June 28, 1834, the Iowa country was attached to the Territory of Michigan for the purpose of providing civil government in the area already rapidly filling with white settlers. In commemoration of this event the general theme selected for Iowa History Week this year — April 16–20, 1934 — is "The Beginnings of Civil Government in Iowa". As an aid in the observance of this centennial anniversary, the State Historical Society of Iowa issued a special number of The Palimpsest in February, containing four stories relating to Iowa in 1834: Iowa in Louisiana and Iowa in Michigan, by William J. Petersen; and Michigan Personalities and Government Comes to Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher. These stories, it is expected, may be made the basis of school and club programs during Iowa History Week. In addition a number of radio programs are to be given over station WSUI at Iowa City between April 16th and 19th.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Howard R. Anderson, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Arthur A. Barlow, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Chas. Beckman, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Fred Bell, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Max T. Bromwell, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. J. N. Darling, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Mary F. Fiedler, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Geo. J. Francois, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. W. C. Gehrmann, Davenport, Iowa; Dr.

Harvey B. Gratiot, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. Max Hemingway, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. Henry Hervey, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. Harvey H. Hindt, Rock Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Margaret C. Jack, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. Ira W. Jones, Clear Lake, Iowa; Mrs. Howard Knesel, Mason City, Iowa; Mrs. Helene W. McCray, Charles City, Iowa; Mr. Clinton L. Nourse, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Irene O'Connell, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. T. Peterson, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John G. Piper, Mount Pleasant, Iowa; Mr. Morris Sanford, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Eugene Schipfer, Sigourney, Iowa; Mr. Claude Stanley, Corning, Iowa; Mr. Robert T. Swaine, New York City, New York; Mr. W. W. Waymack, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Vernon Capen, Sr., West Liberty, Iowa; Dr. N. E. Getman, Rock Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Carl LeBuhn, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Winifred Lynes, Waverly, Iowa; Rev. C. N. McMillan, Paullina, Iowa; Miss Mabel Nimtz, Kalona, Iowa; Mr. T. J. O'Brien, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. S. A. Ralston, Lacona, Iowa; Mr. Fred K. Smith, Rock Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. S. M. Spencer, Glen Olden, Pa.; Mr. Walter G. Voecks, Waverly, Iowa; Gen. Edward A. Kreger, Honolulu, Hawaii; and Mrs. Howard Snyder, Newton, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The old cemetery at Manti, near Shenandoah, has been restored by the work of a CCC detachment.

The Congregational Christian Conference of Iowa has begun the publication of a monthly (except July and August) bulletin of church news.

Miss Alice French (Octave Thanet), well-known novelist and short story writer, died at her home in Davenport on January 9, 1934. She was born at Andover, Massachusetts, on March 19, 1850.

The American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-lore Society held their annual meetings in a joint session at Columbus, Ohio, on December 27–29, 1933, with the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society as host. Professor Fay-Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago was reëlected president of the Anthropological Association. Two addresses of interest to Iowans were "Distribution of the Hopewell Culture", by E. F. Greenman; and "The Present Status of the Mound Builder Problem", by Warren K. Moorehead.

A joint meeting of the Iowa Political Science Association, the Iowa Historical Association, and the Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists will be held at Grinnell on May 4 and 5, 1934. The officers of the political scientists are Dr. J. W. Gannaway of Grinnell College, president, and Miss Erma B. Plaehn of the University High School at Iowa City, secretary-treasurer. Dr. Frederick L. Baumann of Grinnell College is president of the historians and Dr. William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa is recorder. The officers of the economists and sociologists are Dr. E. B. Reuter of the University of Iowa, president, and C. N. Burrows of Simpson College, secretary-treasurer.

Stephen Alfred Swisher, who was for many years a Curator of

the State Historical Society of Iowa, and during the years 1931-1933 president of the Society, died at West Liberty on February 21, 1934. Mr. Swisher was born in Johnson County in 1856 and spent practically his entire life here. His education, begun in the public schools, was continued in the Iowa City Academy and in the State University of Iowa, where he was a student in the seventies. In 1879 he entered the insurance business in Iowa City, in which he continued throughout the active years of his life.

Throughout his career Mr. Swisher was interested in public affairs. In addition to his work for the Historical Society, he was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and of the Iowa Society of Colonial Wars, having served as governor of the latter organization in 1912.

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SOME HISTORIC SITES IN IOWA

During the past fifteen years Iowa has developed a network of highways which greatly facilitate travel and make practically all localities within the State readily accessible to tourists. Of these roads more than 4220 miles are paved (May, 1934) and more than 24,866 miles are graveled. By following the main thoroughfares and detouring now and again along more secluded by-ways, a tourist may easily visit many points of historic interest in Iowa.

The order in which these sites may be visited will, of course, depend upon the plans of the sightseers and the starting points. Since the historical progression in Iowa has been for the most part from east to west, it has seemed advisable to follow this direction in presenting places of interest. With a road map in hand many combinations of routes can be made to suit the desires and convenience of travelers. The enumeration will, in general, follow five routes across the State, beginning respectively at Dubuque, McGregor, Clinton, Burlington, and Davenport.

All places have some historic interest, and this list of historic sites is not presented as a complete enumeration of all such places in Iowa. It is hoped, however, that the list and the brief data given for each site will prove helpful to tourists and sightseers, who wish to "see Iowa". References to more complete accounts of the places, events, or persons mentioned are given so that additional information may be secured. Many of the references cited are publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa and are, for the most part, to be found in the public and college libraries in the State.

FROM DUBUQUE TO SIOUX CITY

If a tourist starts at Dubuque — the region in which the first permanent white settlement in Iowa was made — he is directly on Highway Number 20 which leads westward across Iowa. Before starting westward, however, the tourist will find some worth while sightseeing in the vicinity of Dubuque.

Dubuque.— Dubuque is one of the oldest cities in Iowa. its occupation by white settlers antedating the Black Hawk War. Here the Miners' Compact, the first written charter of government on Iowa soil, was signed in 1830. The southeast corner of what is now Washington Square was the site of the first church building in Iowa — a log structure costing \$255, built by the Methodists in the summer of 1834. The home of former Senator William B. Allison may be seen at Dubuque and the John T. Adams home, built by Warner Lewis, a prominent politician and business man of early Iowa. Warner Lewis was, it is said, a descendant of Betty Washington, a sister of the first President. across the street is the old Langworthy home, reminding the sightseer of the four brothers - James L., Lucius H., Solon, and Edward - who had so large a part in the early history of the lead region.1

Dubuque's Monument.— About a mile south of the city stands a stone tower, which marks the final resting place of the first white settler in Iowa — Julien Dubuque, for whom the city of Dubuque was named. He was a French-Canadian, who in 1788 persuaded the Fox Indians to grant him the sole right to work the lead mines near the site of

¹ Gallaher's The First Church in Iowa in The Palimpsest. Vol. VII, pp. 1-10; Parish's The Langworthys of Early Dubuque and Their Contribution to Local History in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. VIII, pp. 315-422.

present-day Dubuque. In 1796 he received a grant of land from the Spanish Governor, including the lead area which he named the "Mines of Spain".

When Dubuque died in 1810, his Indian friends bore his remains to their final resting place on a high bluff, and marked the grave with a cedar post. Many years later—in 1897—citizens of Dubuque erected a permanent monument—the stone tower—over the grave.²

The Dubuque Shot Tower.— Another reminder of the days when lead formed an important cargo from the Dubuque mines is the old shot tower, which stands almost on the bank of the Mississippi at the foot of Fourth Street Extension, where the Illinois-Iowa high bridge joins East Dubuque with Dubuque. Exact data concerning this tower is not available, but it is believed to have been erected in 1856 by the George W. Rogers Company at a cost of \$10,000. It is approximately 150 feet high and was divided into nine stories. Molten lead poured from the top formed spherical drops which cooled and hardened in the descent and were received in water at the bottom of the tower to further cool and harden as shot. In this tower, shot was made for use in the Civil War.³

Eagle Point Park.—At Eagle Point Park in Dubuque one may look across the Mississippi River into both Illinois and Wisconsin and view for miles around much of the region that was once designated as the "Mines of Spain". Here lime was made for many years by burning limestone from

² A Visit to Dubuque's Grave, reprinted from the Du Buque Visitor, in The Palimpsest, Vol. III, pp. 125-128; Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 25-32.

³ Petersen's Historical Setting of the Mound Region in Northeastern Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXI, p. 82; Des Moines News, February 4, 1924; The Weekly Times (Dubuque), June 20, 1861.

the bluffs. In this park, too, is one of the oldest log cabins to be found anywhere in Iowa.⁴

The Trappist Abbey of New Melleray.— On a prominent elevation some twelve miles southwest of Dubuque on Highway Number 161 stands what appears to be a medieval European Abbey. In reality, however, this Trappist Abbey of New Melleray is neither medieval nor European. Its vine-covered, stone buildings, erected by the silent order of Cistercian monks, are of comparatively recent date.

During the French Revolution the monks at the monastery at La Trappe in France were dispersed — some of them going later to the deserted monastery of Melleray in the Province of Brittany. From there missionaries were sent to Ireland where they established the Abbey of Mount Melleray. Early in 1849 Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, learning of the desire of the monks to seek a new home, offered to donate a site near the city of Dubuque, and on July 16, 1849, Abbot Bruno of Mount Melleray, Ireland, laid the foundation of New Melleray. On Christmas day of that year the first Abbey — a frame building — was consecrated and occupied.

In the late sixties, after much thoughtful planning and economy, provision was made for the erection of four large stone buildings in Gothic style around a rectangular court, but only two of the four wings have been finished. A red brick parish church, barns, mills, and shops have been provided.

The monks work in the gardens and on the farm. They pray often, eat plain food, and maintain silence in so far as possible. Women are never permitted to enter the monastery, and no visitors are admitted on Sunday.⁵

⁴ Kay's Our Home State and Continent, p. 45.

⁵ Mahan's New Melleray in The Palimpsest, Vol. III, pp. 265-309; Perkins's History of the Trappist Abbey of New Melleray, pp. 35-40.

Têtes des Morts.— The little town of St. Donatus in the sheltered valley of Têtes des Morts in Jackson County was established by a band of immigrants from Luxemburg, and has been referred to as "a little French island in the American sea". The homes of these Luxemburg immigrants are built of limestone and have a European appearance. "Without eaves, built mostly in blocks close up to the road, sometimes with the stable under the same low pitched roof, they make the wondering visitor doubt whether he is still in the United States."

In the decade of the fifties, Father Michel Flammang advanced the idea of higher education for both boys and girls. Under his influence a rural high school for boys was established at the little town of Key West, in Dubuque County, and a little later another was founded at St. Donatus. Flammang also began to plan for a boarding school for girls and he is said to have established the first institution of that character in Iowa "in a four story building at this remote village where the rattle of a railroad has not been heard to this day."

The schools were established largely for the teaching of religion, and in this they were not without success. Prior to 1922, it is said, little Têtes des Morts had "supplied thirteen priests to the Catholic church and sixty-three sisters for the veil". The boys' high school became a dwelling, the seminary was reduced to a country school, and pupils long since ceased to attend the boarding school.⁶

Bellevue and the Bellevue War.— At Bellevue, in Jackson County, one comes to the scene upon which was staged that dramatic episode known in early Iowa history as the "Bellevue War". In the late thirties Bellevue became the rendezvous of a gang engaged in horse stealing and other

⁶ Given's A Luxemburg Idyll in Early Iowa, pp. 1-15.

acts of lawlessness. Attempts were made to rid the settlement of the desperadoes, but little progress was made. At length a posse of some forty men constituted a vigilance committee for the administration of rough justice, and after a struggle in which one man on either side lost his life, thirteen of the bandits were captured. Excitement ran high and threats were made to hang all the prisoners.

In the end, it was agreed to take a ballot upon the question of whether the captives should be hanged or merely whipped and exiled from the region. The men voted by dropping beans into a box—"white beans for hanging colored beans for whipping". The result was a majority of three colored beans. The thirteen men who had so narrowly escaped the rope were thoroughly whipped, placed in boats on the Mississippi, supplied with three days rations, and made to promise never to return.

A beautiful park area of one hundred and forty-eight acres on the heights overlooking the Mississippi has been dedicated as the Bellevue State Park.

The Old Town of Delhi.—Returning to Dubuque and proceeding westward along Highway Number 20, one arrives at Earlville. There he may wish to dip southward a few miles to visit the historic little town of Delhi. In 1841 Delhi became the county seat of Delaware County —a distinction which it maintained for almost forty years. In the decade of the forties a courthouse and a substantial county jail were erected. The courthouse is no longer standing, but a stone marker indicates its site. The old jail remains, an interesting relic of a law-enforcing agency of Iowa Territorial days, although the massive walls are mossy now and the doors are half ajar.

There is also a marker in front of the old frame house in

⁷ Parish's White Beans for Hanging in The Palimpsest, Vol. I, pp. 9-28.

Delhi in which J. L. McCreery lived in the late fifties. Mr. McCreery, a pioneer journalist, is credited with having written the poem which begins:

"There is no death: the stars go down To rise upon some other shore; And bright in heaven's jeweled crown They shine for evermore".

The Race Track at Independence.— Just west of Independence, in Buchanan County, stand a few old buildings, reminding one of the days when Independence was the "Lexington of the North", and Rush Park had the famous "kite track" upon which world records in trotting and pacing were made. Independence was the home of Axtell and Allerton—two of the great race horses in the decade of the eighties.

Cedar Falls and the Iowa State Teachers College.— At Cedar Falls, in Black Hawk County, one finds the modern and commodious buildings of the Iowa State Teachers College, with a wide expanse of beautiful college campus. As a matter of fact, the first building used for the State Normal School — known today as Gilchrist Hall, in honor of James C. Gilchrist, the first president — was erected for a Soldiers' Orphans' Home.

In the decade of the seventies there was agitation for a State normal school, and residents of Black Hawk County conceived the idea of consolidating the Orphans' Home at Cedar Falls with some other institution of that character in the State, and dedicating the building to the cause of higher

⁸ Swisher's The Location of County Seats in Iowa in The Iowa Journal OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXII, pp. 231, 232; Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 196-209.

⁹ Petersen's Rush Park in The Palimpsest, Vol. XIII, pp. 377-394.

education. A measure designed to accomplish this purpose passed the Sixteenth General Assembly in 1876.

Cedar Falls is the birthplace of Bess Streeter Aldrich, well known as a writer of books and short stories.¹⁰

The Herbert Quick Memorial.— In Orion Park, Grundy Center, there stands a unique memorial to one of the leading writers of stories of pioneer Iowa. It is the schoolhouse in which Herbert Quick attended school.

Herbert Quick was born on October 23, 1861, on a farm in the western part of Grundy County, not far from the town of Steamboat Rock. He attended the rural schools of Grundy County, and later taught school and studied law. For more than a decade and a half following the year 1890 he practiced law in Sioux City. Throughout his career Mr. Quick's chief interests were literary. Among his literary productions are Vandermark's Folly, The Hawkeye, and The Invisible Woman. His autobiography appears under the title One Man's Life. 11

Lepley State Park.—A few miles south of Eldora in Hardin County is a tract of native woodland known as Lepley State Park. Peter Lepley, a pioneer settler in that region, was a conservationist, as were also his descendants. It was Manuel Lepley, a descendant of the original pioneer, who set aside a ten-acre tract of land and directed that the trees be preserved and protected as a tribute to the early settlers. In 1923, this woodland area was designated as Lepley State Park.¹²

Nright's Fifty Years at the Teachers College, pp. 20-29; Brigham's A Book of Iowa Authors by Iowa Authors, pp. 17-30.

¹¹ Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. XV, p. 231; The Des Moines Register, July 4, 6, 1933.

¹² Christensen's *The State Parks of Iowa* in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 376, 377.

The Dolliver Memorial State Park.— A park area a few miles southeast of Fort Dodge is dedicated to the memory of Jonathan P. Dolliver, a former resident of Fort Dodge. As early as 1918 a movement was instituted to perpetuate the name of Mr. Dolliver. Three years later the plans were completed and by the joint efforts of the State Board of Conservation and the citizens of the county a tract of land was acquired in Webster County and designated as the Dolliver Memorial State Park.¹³

Fort Dodge.— Fort Dodge is situated on the east bank of the Des Moines River-near the mouth of Lizard Fork. There, in 1850, a company of United States Infantry established a military post as a protection against the Sioux Indians, and named it Fort Clarke. Because there was a fort of the same name in New Mexico, the name of this post was soon changed to Fort Dodge. An old log cabin used in 1850 as the headquarters of the Quartermaster's Department of the troops then stationed at Fort Dodge is still preserved in Oleson Park.

Cyrus C. Carpenter who was Governor of Iowa from 1872 to 1876 was for many years a resident of Fort Dodge. The old home in which Mr. Carpenter lived before he was elected Governor still stands on a farm just west of the city limits. The home of the late Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver is maintained in the central part of the city. At the city library, the Webster County Historical Society maintains a room containing relics of pioneer days in Fort Dodge and the Northwest.¹⁴

At the Fort Dodge Chamber of Commerce is the famous Cardiff Giant. This huge figure was carved from gypsum

¹³ Christensen's The State Parks of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 369-372.

¹⁴ Van der Zee's Forts in the Iowa Country in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XII, pp. 197-202.

from the mines near Fort Dodge, buried on a farm near Cardiff, New York, "resurrected" by some well-diggers, and for several months exhibited as a petrified giant of prehistoric times. Even scientists were, for a time, fooled by the hoax, but the story of the carving of the figure and its planting soon came to light.¹⁵

Gypsum beds underlie some thirty square miles in Webster County and are from fifteen to thirty feet in thickness. The first gypsum mill was built at Fort Dodge in 1872. 16

Humboldt.— Humboldt, formerly called Springvale, a few miles north of Fort Dodge, was for many years the site of Humboldt College. This institution was established in 1869 by the Reverend S. H. Taft. By 1872 substantial stone buildings were provided, and buildings and endowments were valued at more than \$100,000. On the first board of trustees were several men of prominence in Iowa history, including B. F. Gue, Austin Adams, and J. F. Duncombe. The college remained as an educational landmark until 1926 when the buildings were torn down. The former college campus is now used as a park and a bowlder and bronze tablet mark the site of the old college. 17

Humboldt was also the home of Frank Gotch, the world's champion wrestler of 1908.

Pomeroy Cyclone.— Pomeroy, in Calhoun County, was the scene of a cyclone on July 6, 1893. The storm originated along the banks of the Little Sioux River in Cherokee County and moved eastward across Buena Vista and Pocahontas counties carrying destruction and death in its path.

¹⁵ Gallaher's The Cardiff Giant in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 269-281.

¹⁶ Kay's Our Home State and Continent, pp. 72, 73.

¹⁷ Taft's An Address Delivered on the Opening of Humboldt College, at Springvale, Iowa, September 18, 1872; Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. XIII, pp. 394, 395.

In the vicinities of Storm Lake, Newell, and Fonda the destruction of property was very great and several lives were lost, but at Pomeroy the storm broke forth in such fury that "but twenty-one families were left with no dead or wounded of their own to care for". During the next two days thirty-one graves were filled in the Pomeroy cemeteries — more than sixty persons in all having lost their lives in the storm.¹⁸

Le Mars.— Le Mars, in Plymouth County, is the site of an early English settlement. William B. Close, an athlete of Cambridge University and captain of the University rowing team, came to the United States to take part in a regatta which was one of the features of the centennial celebration in 1876. He became interested in land investments and organized the Iowa Land Company which in a few years had a capital stock of \$2,500,000.

Through the organization of this company many English immigrants were induced to come to Iowa. A group of ladies visiting this area discovered that the initials of their names might be so arranged as to spell the word Le Mars and the name was adopted for the town. The town of Sutherland in O'Brien County derived its name from the Duke of Sutherland, one of the English stockholders. Two brothers-in-law of William B. Close — Henry and D. Edward Paullin — established and named the town of Paullina, in O'Brien County.¹⁹

The Floyd Monument.—At Sioux City, in Woodbury County, one may visit the monument which marks the grave of Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and

¹⁸ Sherman's The Pomeroy Cyclone in The Palimpsest, Vol. VII, pp. 172-183.

¹⁹ Van der Zee's The British in Iowa, pp. 57-112, 285; Gallaher's The English Community in Iowa in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 80-94.

Clark Expedition, who is believed to have been the first white man buried in Iowa soil.

The expedition of which Sergeant Floyd was a member was sent out from St. Louis, in the spring of 1804, to explore the Missouri River and the region westward to the coast. A short distance below the site of Sioux City Sergeant Floyd died. His body was taken a little farther up the river and buried with military honors on a high bluff on the east side of the river. Some years later George Catlin referred to the place as "one of the most lovely and imposing mounds or bluffs on the Missouri River".

A half-century after the burial of Sergeant Floyd his grave was disturbed by the eastward movement of the river current and this necessitated a reburial somewhat higher up the bluff. On May 30, 1901, a stone monument one hundred feet high was dedicated in honor of Sergeant Floyd and in remembrance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.²⁰

FROM McGREGOR TO INWOOD

Instead of starting from Dubuque, one may begin the tour of historic Iowa sites at McGregor. Across the river lies the old town of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, with the remains of Old Fort Crawford, the old Dousman House, and other historic sites.

Pike's Hill.—About two miles south of McGregor, opposite the place where the Wisconsin River empties into the Mississippi, is a bold promontory, a part of the range of steep, almost perpendicular bluffs which form the Iowa shore of the Mississippi River in that region. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike visited this hill on his journey up the river in the fall of 1805, and selected it as a suitable place for the

²⁰ Catlin's The Grave of Sergeant Floyd in The Palimpsest, Vol. VII, pp. 337-341.

erection of a military post, hence its name Pike's Hill or Pike's Peak.

Aside from the historic significance of Pike's Hill, its advantages as the site for a military post, and the beauty of the scenery which may be viewed from its summit, this hill is noted for its many colored sands. The side of the hill where these are most apparent is known as "Pictured Rocks".²¹

Indian Mounds.— Extending along the Mississippi River from below the mouth of Turkey River northward through Clayton and Allamakee counties are groups of prehistoric Indian mounds. When this region was surveyed and platted by Theodore H. Lewis and Alfred J. Hill between 1881 and 1895, there were many hundreds of these mounds, a total of 900 having been reported in 1892 on the terrace now occupied by the town of Harper's Ferry. These mounds are conical, linear, or effigy and some are of great size. Unusual collections are to be found near the mouth of Turkey River, and near McGregor, Lansing, and Marquette.²²

St. Anthony's Chapel.— Near the town of Festina, in Winneshiek County, is a little church of historic and architectural interest — by name St. Anthony's Chapel, but frequently referred to as the "Little Cathedral" or the "Smallest Church in the World". St. Anthony's Chapel has four tiny pews, accommodating only eight persons.

This little building was erected by John Gartner and some associates in 1885. In 1848 Gartner induced five fami-

²¹ Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 56-63; Hoffman's A Winter in the West, Vol. II, pp. 17, 18.

²² Keyes's *A Unique Survey* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XI, pp. 214-226; Keyes's *Shall Iowa Have National Monuments?* in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXI, pp. 37-46.

lies to join him in forming a little Catholic settlement in Winneshiek County. These early settlers purchased a furtrading post which had been established some years before, and made a chapel of one of the log buildings. That building was destroyed by fire in 1854. Some of the members of the congregation then moved away, but John Gartner remained, and after more than thirty years, he, then more than eighty years old, assisted by his son-in-law, built the present building upon the site of the old log church, and christened it St. Anthony's Chapel in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. Gartner is buried in the church cemetery.²³

The Fort Atkinson State Park.—In 1825 a line was drawn across the greater part of northern Iowa to mark the boundary between the Sioux Indians located north of the line and the Sac and Fox Indians south of it. A mere line, however, was soon found to be of little value in the Indian country and in 1830 a Neutral Strip was designated, extending twenty miles each way from the Neutral Line. Ten years later the Winnebago Indians were moved from Wisconsin into Iowa and occupied a part of this Neutral Ground. The Indians were escorted to Iowa by Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, and in 1840 a fort was erected for their protection and named Fort Atkinson.

This fort was located on the west bank of the Turkey River in the southern part of what is now Winneshiek County. Separate buildings were provided for the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and for the soldiers. Blockhouses, a powder house, and a chapel were also constructed. A substantial fence enclosed the buildings and at the end of the parade ground a tall flagstaff towered above the fortifications.

²³ Noll's St. Anthony of Padua, pp. 1-4; The Iowa Magazine, January 3, 1924, p. 6; Charles City Press, July 3, 1926; Decorah Journal, March 18, 1925.

Finally the Winnebago were moved on into Minnesota. Troops were no longer needed in this area and one morning in February, 1849, the teamsters harnessed the mules at the fort for the last time, the troops loaded their supplies on army wagons, tacked to a walnut log in the sleeping quarters a card inscribed "Farewell to bedbugs", and departed.

A half century later time had wrought its destructive work, and the buildings were falling to decay. The old blockhouses sheltered hundreds of pigeons. The chapel, with a hole in the roof and the windows gone, was surrounded by a forest of weeds. The powder house had degenerated into a hennery, and the walls of the barracks were crumbling away. The old fort in its beautiful setting sheltered only the beasts and the birds.

The site of the old fort has now been reclaimed, and made into a beautiful State Park. Here tourists may read the history of the past as it is indelibly written in the massive walls of the old barracks. Hard by, the old powder house still stands to tell its story of adventure. Even the old well and the well curb may still be seen, and curious visitors may speculate as to what has become of the "old oaken bucket".²⁴ Suggestions have been made that Fort Atkinson be restored, but no definite plans have been made.

Spillville.— At the little Bohemian village of Spillville, in Winneshiek County, is a bronze tablet commemorating the visit of Antonin Dvorak to that region. There the great Bohemian musician spent the summer of 1893, and there he worked on some of his best compositions, including the "New World Symphony". Dvorak is remembered as a very religious man who attended mass regularly at St.

²⁴ Swisher's *Historical and Memorial Parks* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XII, pp. 202-204.

Wenceslaus Church where he played the pipe organ for public worship.²⁵

Decorah.—At Decorah one may visit some of the most famous ice caves to be found anywhere in the Middle West. In these caves, located in the bluffs on the north bank of the Upper Iowa River, on the outskirts of Decorah, ice readily forms in May and June, particularly if it be a wet season. Later in the summer the ice may disappear. As the weather grows colder again, moisture is shut out of the caves by the freezing of the ground, and no ice is formed although the temperature within may be below freezing. This gives rise to the popular notion that ice forms in the cave in summer and melts in winter.²⁶

At Decorah, too, is Luther College, founded in 1861 under the auspices of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. One of the features of Luther College is the museum of Norwegian-American history.

New Albin.— A few miles north of New Albin — on parallel 43° 30′ — is an Iowa-Minnesota boundary marker, described as "a hollow pyramid of cast iron 6 feet long and weighing 500 lbs." It has the words "Iowa" on one side and "Minnesota" on the other. The marker was erected in 1849 and is still in its original position. In 1930 the residents of New Albin placed a cement base around the marker and placed on the base a bronze tablet bearing a suitable inscription.²⁷

²⁵ The Iowa Magazine, March 26, 1925, pp. 8, 9; Decorah Journal, September 30, 1925; Evans's Dvorak at Spillville in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 113-118.

²⁶ Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XVI, pp. 141-146; Kay's Our Home State and Continent, p. 45; The Iowa Magazine, April, 1918, pp. 5, 6, August-September, 1920, pp. 6, 7, 29, 32.

²⁷ Dubuque Herald, July 28, 1929; letter from Miss Veronica Cull, December 10, 1933.

The Little Brown Church.—At the edge of the now almost deserted village of Bradford, in Chickasaw County, stands a little weather-beaten old church, "painted a quiet brown" and half-hidden among the maples and pine trees. This little rustic church is of wide renown; it is "The Little Brown Church in the Vale".

In the decade of the fifties, Bradford was a thriving prairie village, made up largely of people from New England. Then came the panic of 1857, followed by the Civil War. Hard times were everywhere apparent, but the Bradford minister and his parishioners were intent upon the building of a new church. "One man donated the lots, a second gave logs, and a third sawed them into lumber." A "bee" quarried the stone, and the village mason laid the foundation for the walls. A collection from a Sunday School in Massachusetts was used for the purchase of finishing lumber, which was hauled eighty miles by wagon from McGregor, and at length the building was finished.

The words of the song "The Little Brown Church in the Vale" had, however, been written before the church had been even planned. They had been inspired by the beauty of the spot upon which the church was erected, but the picture of the building itself was purely imaginative. Dr. William Pitts, a teacher of singing in addition to his profession as a dentist, had visited Bradford in 1857 and a little later had written this song. In the spring of 1864, after the church was enclosed but not yet finished, Dr. Pitts met an audience there, seated upon improvised board benches, and, for the first time, sang for them the song "The Little Brown Church in the Vale".28

Charles City. — Charles City, in Floyd County, is remem-

²⁸ Laird's The Little Brown Church in the Vale in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 72-79.

bered as an important manufacturing center during the decade of the nineties. The Daley Agricultural Implement Company, the Hart-Parr Company, and the Burnham Manufacturing Company all prospered there. It was in Charles City that gasoline traction engines were first manufactured for commercial purposes. This was in 1900. In the decade of the nineties Charles City was also the site of the German Methodist College, known in later years as Charles City College. In more recent years this school has been discontinued and the students transferred to Morningside College.29

Clear Lake. At Clear Lake, in Cerro Gordo County, one may visit another of the Iowa State Parks - a twenty acre area on the margin of a clear and quiet lake. There are no dangerous reefs or hidden shoals, no shelving shore lines to trap the bathers on the beach. On the lake shore is a Methodist camp ground where young people from all parts of the State gather annually in conventions.30

Britt.—Beyond Clear Lake we pass through Britt, in Hancock County, remembered as the site of the "Hobo Convention" of 1900, when some 250 hobos visited there. It was a strange gathering that assembled at the fair grounds on the morning of the convention - "authors, railroaders, cigarmakers, designers, real estaters, printers, actors, doctors, society tramps" - they were all there and ready for a big celebration.

At this convention, politics was the subject of much discussion. A good deal of opposition was expressed to William McKinley as a presidential nominee because he "be-

²⁹ Kane's Famous First Facts, p. 689; data secured from Miss Clara M. Daley.

³⁰ Swisher's The Enchantment of the Lakes in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 230, 231.

lieved in giving work to every man." Just about this time Admiral Dewey had returned from the Philippines and the convention voted to a man for his nomination as a candidate for President. As one enters Britt today he may still see signs which remind him that hobos convened there more than thirty years ago.

Britt is also known as the home of John Hammill who served for three terms as Governor of Iowa.³¹

The Ambrose A. Call State Park.— Following Highway Number 18 to Algona, in Kossuth County, one may visit another State Park with historic interest. In the spring of 1854 Ambrose A. Call, a native of Ohio, left Cincinnati to seek a new home west of the Mississippi. He journeyed west and northwest across Iowa, visiting Iowa City, Fort Des Moines, and finally Fort Dodge, where he was advised not to venture farther because of the Indians. But Call was an adventurous spirit, and he pressed on to the present site of Algona, where he camped for the night. Locating a grove nearby, he blazed a walnut tree with his hatchet and wrote on it "Ambrose A. Call claims this grove — July 10, 1854". Later he built a log cabin. This was the first claim and the first cabin in Kossuth County. The site now constitutes the Ambrose A. Call State Park.³²

The Grotto of the Redemption.—At the town of West Bend, in Palo Alto County, one may visit the Grotto of the Redemption—a shrine both historic and beautiful. For many years Father P. M. Dobberstein has labored faithfully to assemble from many States and many countries stones of a wide variety and to fashion them into a series of

³¹ Carlson's The Hobo Convention in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 257-272.

³² Christensen's The State Parks of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, p. 411; Swisher's Historical and Memorial Parks in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 214, 215.

grottoes which represent the evolution and spiritual development of man from his fall in the Garden of Eden to his redemption through the death and resurrection of Christ. The first grotto represents the Trinity. The grottoes of the Garden of Eden, Bethlehem, Gethsemane, the Way of the Cross, and the Holy Sepulchre were designed later—the whole known as the Grotto of the Redemption.³³

The Fort Defiance State Park.—At Estherville, in Emmet County, one may visit Fort Defiance State Park. This marks the site of the old fort erected there as a protection against the Sioux Indians during the days of the Civil War.

At that time it was feared that hostile Indians, knowing that many of the white men were away serving in the Union Army, might attempt to drive the settlers out of Minnesota and Iowa. To prevent such an outbreak, Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood commissioned W. H. Ingham to raise a troop of cavalry in northwestern Iowa. A company was accordingly organized and stationed at Estherville, where in the fall of 1862 they began the erection of Fort Defiance. Captain Ingham's cavalry had enlisted for thirty days, but it was fifteen months before they were finally mustered out. In April, 1864, the fort was abandoned and disintegration soon followed. In 1866 the property was sold and such parts of the building as remained were moved away.

In recent years an area of fifty-three acres including the site of the old fort has been made one of Iowa's State Parks. Thus it has become not only an historic landmark but a valued park and wild life preserve as well.³⁴

³³ The Iowa Magazine, August-September, 1920, pp. 20, 21, January 31, 1924, p. 5; The Des Moines Register, December 29, 1929, p. 4.

³⁴ Clark's Border Defense in Iowa During the Civil War in Iowa and War, No. 10, pp. 9-22; Christensen's The State Parks in Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 410, 411.

The Site of the Spirit Lake Massacre.— A little south of Pillsbury Point on Lake Okoboji, in Dickinson County, there stands a monument erected by the State of Iowa in memory of the settlers who lost their lives in the Spirit Lake Massacre and the members of the Relief Expedition who risked their lives in an effort to rescue the living and bury the dead. A little closer to the lake stands the Gardner cabin, a tragic reminder of the massacre, for eight people from this cabin were killed and one girl was dragged away as a prisoner.

The story of the Spirit Lake Massacre is well known. In March, 1857, a band of Sioux Indians under Inkpaduta came to the vicinity of the Okoboji lakes and Spirit Lake and killed all the settlers except four women — one of them Abbie Gardner — who were carried away as prisoners. Two of these women were later killed. When news of the massacre was carried to Fort Dodge and Webster City a relief expedition was sent to the scene of the massacre. Although this was late in the spring the temperature dropped to below zero and the men on this expedition suffered terribly from the cold, two being frozen to death.

In 1887, thirty years after the massacre, a bronze tablet was placed in the courthouse at Webster City and in 1895 the State of Iowa erected a monument fifty-five feet high just south of Pillsbury Point on Lake Okoboji. This monument and the Gardner cabin — which for years was occupied by Abbie Gardner Sharp, one of the two survivors — are reminders of the only Indian massacre in Iowa.³⁵

Ocheyedan Mound.—At Ocheyedan Mound, in Osceola County, one finds interesting physiographic features. The mound rises 1670 feet above sea level and is therefore one of the highest points in Iowa. The material of the mound is

³⁵ Teakle's The Spirit Lake Massacre, pp. 51, 271; Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 481-553.

chiefly sand and gravel. Ocheyedan Mound also has an historic interest, for Jean Nicollet, who explored this region as early as 1839, referred to it and said that the name meant "the spot where they cry"—the Indians having followed the custom of repairing to an elevated site to weep over their dead relatives.³⁶

Orange City, Home of the Hollanders.— At Orange City, in Sioux County, one comes upon a substantial settlement of sturdy Hollanders. As early as 1847 some seven hundred Dissenters from the established Reformed Church left Holland and came to Iowa, settling in Marion County at Pella—"a place of refuge". There they prospered and grew, and within a few years needed more land than was there available. Accordingly, in 1870, they sent a colony of settlers to Sioux County where, under the leadership of Henry Hospers, they established Orange City. Neighboring towns were later settled largely by Hollanders.³⁷

Inwood.— Returning to Highway Number 18 the tourist passes through the town of Rock Valley, thence to Inwood, the most western town on this route before he reaches the Missouri River. From Inwood it is but a short drive to Gitchie Manito State Park, in the extreme northwestern corner of Iowa. Within the park is Jasper Pool surrounded by bluffs and peaks, and yonder in the west one may see the sun sinking behind the Dakota hills. This area is also near the famous pipestone region of Minnesota. Many peace pipes made in this vicinity "were probably carried far, for Gitchie Manito is close to the Big Sioux River, a part of

³⁶ Kay's Ocheyedan Mound, Osccola County, Iowa, in the Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101, 102.

³⁷ Van der Zee's The Hollanders of Iowa, pp. 70-72, 179-207; Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 241-270.

the ancient Indian all-water route from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson Bay. "38"

FROM CLINTON TO MISSOURI VALLEY

Instead of starting the tour of historic sites in northeastern Iowa a tourist may choose to start at Clinton and go westward across the State from there. In this case he would follow the Lincoln Highway — Route Number 30.

Clinton.—In the days before the Civil War the county seat of Clinton County was at De Witt, and Clinton was but a small river town. It was, however, an important station on the "Underground Railroad", and "many an attic or hayloft in those early days sheltered a runaway". The "Old Stone House" in the western outskirts of the town is sometimes said to have been the headquarters for the fugitives. Others say that this house was owned by a southern sympathizer. After the days of the Civil War this building was known as the "Haunted House". It may also interest the tourist to learn that the eastern part of the present city of Clinton is the most eastern section of Iowa inside a municipal corporation. This area is the old town of Lyons which was annexed to Clinton in 1894.

Camanche.— At Camanche, in Clinton County, on June 3, 1860, occurred one of the most disastrous tornadoes that ever swept over Iowa. A contemporary writer said: "No conception could be formed of the scene except by seeing it, and once seeing it would haunt the memory forever." It was estimated that 134 Iowans lost their lives in this storm

³⁸ Christensen's The State Parks of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 404, 405.

³⁹ Wolfe's History of Clinton County Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 46, 47; The Clinton Herald, July 29, 1931.

and many others were injured, while hundreds were rendered homeless.40

Cornell College.— On the crest of College Hill, in the town of Mt. Vernon, stands a substantial three-story, brick building which holds a unique place in the annals of early educational history of Iowa. It is the "Old Sem"—the first building used at Cornell College. Indeed, this was one of the first substantial educational buildings erected in Iowa.

There is a legend that when Elder George B. Bowman came riding on horseback to the Linn Grove circuit, in 1851, he stopped on the crest of this hill and viewed the land-scape for miles around. Realizing that this would be an ideal site for the location of a Christian college, he dismounted and, kneeling in prayer, dedicated the site and himself to the cause of Christian education.

Whether or not this legend had an historic basis is not definitely known, but in the spring of 1852 definite plans were devised for the erection of a seminary. In furtherance of this idea, a Fourth of July celebration in 1852 was planned at which the college idea was launched. Funds were raised by the irresistible appeals of Elder Bowman who came to be famous as the "Prince of College Beggars". Teachers were hired, and the school was opened in the fall of 1853—two years before instruction was offered at the State University. In 1857 the articles of incorporation were amended changing the name of the institution from "The Iowa Conference Seminary" to "Cornell College", in honor of W. W. Cornell and his brother J. B. Cornell, prominent business men of New York.

The old Seminary Building was at one time remodelled

⁴⁰ Wagner's The Camanche Tornado in The Palimpsest, Vol. XIV, pp. 137-148.

and a story was added. A fire later destroyed this fourth story and when the building was repaired its original form was restored. In substantially this form it still stands, having rendered more than eighty years of service to the educational welfare of the Commonwealth.⁴¹

At Mt. Vernon the Lincoln Highway (Highway Number 30) crosses the Old Military Road from Dubuque to Iowa City (Highway Number 161 and 261), which in 1839 was marked by the furrow plowed by Lyman Dillon. The cost of surveying, marking, and constructing this road was paid by the United States government as part of the expenses of the War Department.⁴²

Cedar Rapids.— At Cedar Rapids is Coe College, established by the Presbyterian Church in 1880. Here also is the Masonic Library, containing a valuable collection of Iowa materials. Its founder and first librarian was Theodore Sutton Parvin, who came to Iowa in 1838 as secretary to Governor Robert Lucas, the first Territorial Governor.

When in 1873 John Stuart left his little oatmeal factory in Canada and established at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a new mill with a 300 barrels daily capacity it was confidently prophesied that so rash a venture would drive him into bankruptcy. But it was the prophecy and not the business that failed. By 1895 the mill was turning out 1000 barrels per day. By the close of the century the output had increased to 2500 barrels daily. Five years later it had increased to 4000 barrels. Later units have more than doubled this output. Other cereal products are also produced so that more than 90 carloads of grain products are handled by the company

⁴¹ Brewer and Wick's History of Linn County, pp. 201-205; King's Reminiscences, pp. 188, 189.

⁴² See the stories on the Old Military Road in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 33-64.

daily. A visit at the Quaker Oats plant reveals not only current history but landmarks of other days as well.⁴³

The Tama Indian Reservation.— As one travels along the Lincoln Highway in Tama County, just west of the city of Tama, he may observe small bark-covered huts with wickiups or wigwams in the background. Upon closer observation he will note that the folk who dwell in this region are red men—dressed it may be in white men's attire, some of them perchance driving automobiles, but, nevertheless, Indians. How came these Indians in the center of Iowa?

In the fall of 1845, the Sac and Fox Indians, in accordance with a treaty of 1842, very reluctantly gave up their lands along the Des Moines River in Iowa and moved across the Missouri River into what is now the State of Kansas. Within a few years many of the homesick Indians had drifted back into Iowa, and in January, 1856, the General Assembly of Iowa passed a law permitting them to remain here. By this time the Indians had learned that if they wanted Iowa land they must purchase it and obtain a legal title to it. Accordingly, in 1857, they purchased eighty acres in Tama County. Additional purchases were made until the Indians now own some thirty-six hundred acres - the home of more than three hundred Sacs and Foxes. Although this is called a "reservation" it is not, strictly speaking, a reservation since the land is owned by the Indians and is not reserved by the government for them.44

Marshalltown.— Marshalltown was laid out in the summer of 1853 under the direction of Henry Anson who had built a small cabin in that vicinity two years before. The town was named after Marshall, Michigan, by Mr. Anson,

⁴³ Thornton's The History of the Quaker Oats Company, pp. 24-44, 231, 232.

⁴⁴ Gallaher's The Tama Indians in The Palimpsest, Vol. VII, pp. 44-53.

who had pleasant memories of that place. The first white child born in Marshalltown was Adrian C. Anson, a son of the founder, later known as the renowned "Pop" Anson of baseball fame.

Marshalltown is also of interest as the site of the Soldiers' Home, where Iowa veterans are given maintenance and care. 45

Nevada.— At Nevada, in Story County, one may find folk who recall the days when William A. (Billy) Sunday attended high school there, and competed with the Marshalltown boys in foot-racing and baseball. Sunday was graduated from the Nevada high school in the class of 1881.⁴⁶

The Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.—The Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts is located at Ames. In the early fifties interest developed in agricultural education in Iowa, and a farm near Ames was purchased for experimental purposes. In the decade of the sixties provision was made for the erection of a substantial college building. The result was the erection of Main Hall in 1868. This building was the center of college activities until 1900, when it was destroyed by fire. A visitor at the college today may look upon more than nineteen hundred acres of land and some seventy buildings, which make this college one of the leading institutions of its kind to be found anywhere in the Middle West—a place where agricultural history has been made and is still in the making.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Andreas's Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (1875), pp. 397, 398; Swisher's Adrian C. Anson in The Palimpsest, Vol. III, pp. 374-378.

⁴⁶ Swisher's Billy Sunday in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 343-354.

⁴⁷ Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 193-246; Catalogue of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1932-1933, pp. 42-48.

Boone County.— As one enters Boone County his mind may go back across the years to that famous Kentucky pioneer and explorer — Daniel Boone. A glance into the records reveals the fact that a regiment of United States Dragoons made an expedition across Iowa in 1835, and that Nathan Boone, a son of the Kentucky pioneer, was captain of one of the companies. It was in his honor that Boone County was named.

In 1849 Boone County was organized and the county seat was located at a place then known as Boonesboro. The county seat flourished for a time, but in 1865 when a railroad extended into the county leaving Boonesboro a mile or two from the line, a rival town called Montana sprang up, and became a strong competitor of the county seat town. Gradually citizens began to move from Boonesboro to Montana and in 1871 the name of Montana was changed to Boone. Subsequently, Boonesboro was annexed to the city of Boone, and the county seat came to be known as Boone.⁴⁸

The Kate Shelley Bridge.— A few miles southwest of Boone on the Des Moines River is the Kate Shelley bridge—so named in honor of the Iowa heroine who in 1881 braved a terrific storm and crawled across a railroad bridge over the Des Moines River to avert the wrecking of an approaching train.

"Ah! noble Kate Shelley, your mission is done;

Your deed that dark night will not fade from our gaze. An endless renown you have worthily won:

Let the Nation be just and accord you its praise, Let your name, let your fame and your courage declare What a woman can do and a woman can dare!" ¹⁹

⁴⁸ Swisher's The Location of County Seats in Iowa in The Iowa Journal OF History and Politics, Vol. XXII, pp. 108, 109.

⁴⁹ Swisher's Kate Shelley in The Palimpsest, Vol. VI, pp. 45-53.

The Ledges State Park.—In this region, too, one may visit the Ledges State Park, and the prehistoric Indian mounds nearby. Here one may think upon history, not alone as it is recorded in books, but, as it appears in the rocks and the mounds as well. "To spend a day or an hour at the Ledges is a pleasure and leaves sweet memories—but to visit this restful place with the coming and going of the seasons, in sunshine and storm, to learn its secrets and find its hidden treasures, is to love them".50

The Merle Hay Monument.— In Westlawn Cemetery at Glidden, in Carroll County, is the Merle Hay Monument, erected to the memory of the first Iowan who fell in the World War. The monument is of Carolina granite and bears a reproduction of J. N. Darling's cartoon published upon the news of the death of the first American soldiers. A sum of \$5000 was appropriated by the Forty-third General Assembly, in 1929, for the erection of this monument.⁵¹

Denison and Crawford County.— The city of Denison, in Crawford County, was founded by J. W. Denison, a minister who because of ill health allied himself with the Providence Western Land Company and came to Iowa in 1855 as their agent.

Much early history of Crawford County and western Iowa is preserved at the courthouse in Denison. Prior to 1931 historic relics were preserved in an old log cabin in Washington Park. In that year the Crawford County Historical Society made provision for these to be removed to the courthouse and be placed in suitable glass cases. At the

⁵⁰ Swisher's Scenes of Rare Beauty in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, p. 236; Christensen's The State Parks of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 365-369.

⁵¹ Laws of Iowa, 1929, Ch. 2⁷4; Iowa Legionaire, April 5, 1929, June 6, 1930.

courthouse may also be found a large number of letters written by J. W. Denison to the land company for which he worked.⁵²

Denison is the home of Clarence D. Chamberlin, famous trans-Atlantic aviator.

The Lewis and Clark State Park.— If the tourist—detouring from the Lincoln Highway—continues almost due westward from Denison he will arrive at the Lewis and Clark State Park, on the Missouri River, in Monona County. This park commemorates the historic Lewis and Clark expedition which was sent out by President Thomas Jefferson in 1804 to explore the Missouri River.

This historic park contains about three hundred acres on the margin of Blue Lake, a body of water covering about sixteen hundred acres. When Lewis and Clark visited the region, this lake bed was a part of the main channel of the Missouri River, but since then the river has changed its course to the westward, leaving a beautiful Iowa lake. One of the remarkable sights is a bed of American lotus growing in the quiet water at one end.⁵³

Magnolia.— Instead of going directly westward from Denison one may follow the Lincoln Highway southwestward to Missouri Valley and the Missouri River. A few miles northwest of Logan lies the old town of Magnolia, established in 1853 as the county seat of Harrison County. The whistle of locomotives at the nearby town of Logan drowned the music of the name "Magnolia" and for years Magnolia was a secluded inland town. It has, however,

⁵² The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXIX, p. 448; Letters of J. W. Denison in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-126, 274-304; Wagner's Destination — Unknown in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 376-397.

⁵³ Christensen's *The State Parks of Iowa* in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 401-403.

been gradually redrawn into the outside current of life by the automobile and the motor bus.⁵⁴

Missouri Valley.— At Missouri Valley, we touch upon the trail of the Mormon emigrants who passed near this site in great numbers as they moved westward toward Salt Lake in 1846.

FROM BURLINGTON TO COUNCIL BLUFFS

In crossing the State one may also follow Highway Number 34, leading from Burlington to Council Bluffs. This is nearly parallel to, and at various points touches, the old Mormon Trail, which was laid out in 1846 when the Mormons treked across Iowa from Nauvoo to what is now Council Bluffs.

The Mormon Trail.—Prior to 1846 members of the church of Latter Day Saints—commonly called Mormons—had come from the east and made settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois, making that the largest city of the State at that time. In Illinois, however, the Mormons met much opposition and finally they were forced to seek a new home in the west. Setting forth from Nauvoo in the early spring of 1846, crossing the river on the ice or in flatboats, the Mormons established their first camp a short distance west of Montrose in Lee County.

Leaving Montrose the caravans moved westward through what is now the first six of the southern tier of Iowa counties, including Lee, Van Buren, Davis, Appanoose, Wayne, and Decatur. They then turned northward through Clark and Union counties, and still farther north and west through Adair, Cass, and Pottawattamie counties, reaching the Missouri River at a place then known as Miller's Hol-

⁵⁴ Sly's Magnolia in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 290-297.

low, later called Kanesville, and subsequently named Council Bluffs.

Transportation was largely by ox team, and there were no roads worthy of the name. Eight or ten miles was a day's journey. At night they placed their wagons in a circle around a camp fire, but even with a fire they were often wet and unable to keep warm. It is said that in the month of July, 1846, there were 15,000 Mormons in camp or on the road in southern Iowa.

At various points permanent camps were established. Emigrants going ahead would leave supplies at these camps, or sometimes plant crops to be harvested by those who followed. Camps of this type were established at Garden Grove in Decatur County, and at Mt. Pisgah near the present site of Talmage in Union County. Near the town of Talmage a stone marker has been erected to mark the site of one of the camps along the Mormon Trail. As one goes westward on Highway Number 34 he will not at any time be far from the route followed by the Mormons and he may now and again wish to visit points along that historic trail.⁵⁵

Denmark.— Before starting westward upon this route the tourist may, however, wish to visit points of interest in Lee and Des Moines counties. The little town of Denmark, in Lee County, is in the area which was widely known in early Iowa for its educational and religious zeal. This community was the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa, the home of Asa Turner, and the locality to which members of the famous Iowa Band came, and from which they set forth upon their several fields of labor. It was here, too, that Iowa

55 Murphy's The Mormons Trek Across Iowa in Midland Schools, Vol. XLVI, pp. 193, 194; Van der Zee's The Mormon Trails in Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XII, pp. 3-16; The Des Moines Register, May 9, 16, 23, 30, 1926.

College (now Grinnell College) had its inception. The various community interests and activities, in the forties and succeeding decades, centered in Denmark Academy. The original building of this institution no longer exists, but interest in the historic site of the old Academy and in the community as such remains.

Denmark Academy, incorporated in 1843 as "a literary institution for the purpose of instructing youth of both sexes in science and literature", was opened in the fall of 1845. As no building had been provided at that time, classes were conducted in the Congregational Church, which two years before had been made historic by the ordination service for members of the Iowa Band. It was in this building, too, that a group of pioneers met in 1844 and resolved to take measures for founding a college in the Territory of Iowa.

In 1848 a neat two-story building was provided. Twenty years later this was outgrown and a new and more commodious building was provided. This building continued to be used as an Academy until 1914 when the Academy was discontinued and the building was leased to the Denmark High School. In 1924 the building was destroyed by fire, and a new school building was erected. The name "Academy High School" was retained, however, and over the main doorway of the new building was placed a tablet as a memorial to the old Academy. 56

The Keokuk Dam and Power Plant.—A little farther south, just below the Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi River, between Keokuk and the town of Hamilton in Illinois, is a great dam and power plant. As an engineering

56 Adams's Iowa Band, pp. 13-44, 145; Christensen's Denmark — An Early Stronghold of Congregationalism in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXIV, pp. 108-143; Gallaher's The Iowa Band in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 355-366.

feat this construction is comparable to the Assuan Dam across the Nile River, and as a great electric generating plant it compares favorably with the machinery propelled by the mighty Falls of Niagara.

When Lieutenant Robert E. Lee was stationed at old Fort Des Moines almost one hundred years ago, he made a report to the War Department, in which he suggested the possibilities of utilizing the power and improving the navigation of the Mississippi. For years people dreamed and talked and planned of how they might use this power. Finally the citizens of Keokuk and Hamilton organized a promoting company. The legislatures of Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri also rendered aid. Congress investigated the project and then in 1905 granted a franchise and authorized construction. Funds were made available through the sale of stock not only in the vicinity of the dam but in the eastern States and in Canada, England, Germany, France, and Belgium.

The dam is 4649 feet, or almost nine-tenths of a mile, in length, 53 feet high, 42 feet wide at the bottom and 29 feet wide at the top. The power house is 1718 feet long, 132 feet wide, and 177 feet high. Turbines, generators, transmission lines, locks, docks, sea walls, and ice fenders complete the equipment.

"The best view possible of the works may be obtained from the observation platforms. There is one at Second and Fulton streets, one at the head of Sixth street, and one at the head of Ninth street, in Keokuk. The trolley cars between Keokuk and Hamilton cross the bridge just below the works and pass within four blocks of the Illinois end of the dam."

Keokuk's Monument at Keokuk .- On a promontory on

⁵⁷ Roberts and Moorehead's Story of Lee County Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 243-249; Electric Power from the Mississippi River (Final Edition), pp. 3-6, S3, S4; Prospectus of the Proposed Dam Across the Mississippi River, pp. 1-14.

the bank of the Mississippi River, in Rand Park, in the city of Keokuk, stands a monument erected to the memory of Chief Keokuk. It is a bronze statue of the old chief, mounted upon a pedestal of limestone. Its inscription indicates to the passers-by the dates of the birth and death of the man whose life it commemorates and presents an excerpt from a speech of 1812 which, it is said, "made him a war chief".

Keokuk was born in 1788 at the village of Saukenuk not far from the present site of Rock Island. At the close of the Black Hawk War he succeeded Black Hawk at leader of the Sac and Fox Indians. Not long after, he and his followers were again forced to move. This time they located on the Des Moines River, where Keokuk built his lodge near the old trading post at Iowaville.

Later new lands were selected for the Sacs and Foxes in Kansas, and with deep regret Keokuk led his people away from their beautiful and greatly loved Iowa prairies. In Kansas, Keokuk was not content. In June, 1848, the end came. The body of the shrewd old chieftain was at first buried in Kansas, but later it was removed to Iowa and deposited in the city which had been named in his honor.⁵⁸

The First School in Iowa.— As one passes by the little village of Galland, along the banks of the Mississippi River, in Lee County, he may recall the story of how Isaac Galland employed a teacher and established in that vicinity the first school that was taught in the Iowa country. The first school-house in Iowa was erected at Galland in 1830. The building was a log structure of the simplest type. It passed from view before the advent of modern photography and only a rough sketch of it remains to indicate to the pupils of today the extreme simplicity of a school building of a century ago.

⁵⁸ Roberts and Moorehead's Story of Lee County Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 24-33; Aumann's The Watchful Fox in The Palimpsest, Vol. IX, pp. 121-132.

The land where this early schoolhouse stood was excavated when the Des Moines Canal was built in the late sixties and later when the Keokuk Dam was built in 1913 the land was completely submerged. In 1924 a bronze tablet was erected by the Keokuk Chapter of the D. A. R. on a spot nearby and the small plot of ground on which the tablet is placed was given to the State Historical Society of Iowa.⁵⁹

Tesson's Apple Orchard.— At Montrose, just north of Galland, the first apple orchard in the Iowa country was planted by Louis Honoré Tesson in 1799, while the area was yet a part of the domain of Spain. The site of this old orchard was inundated by the waters of Lake Cooper when the flood gates of the Keokuk Dam were closed in June, 1913.60

Fort Madison.— At Fort Madison a marker in the form of a tall stone chimney points out to visitors the site of the first fort located in what is now Iowa. Soon after the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 it became necessary to build forts in the country west of the Mississippi River. To meet this demand Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley, in 1808, was directed to select a site for a fort near the mouth of the Des Moines River. In the spring of 1809 the work was continued and on April 14th permanent quarters were established in the new fort. Inasmuch as James Madison had recently been inaugurated President, the fort was christened Fort Madison.

The Indians regarded the building of the fort as a viola-

⁵⁹ Grahame's The First Iowa School in The Palimpsest, Vol. V, pp. 401-407; Cruikshank's Historic Sites to be Submerged in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 241-249.

⁶⁰ Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 33-38; Wilson's Tesson's Apple Orchard in The Palimpsest, Vol. IV, pp. 121-131.

tion of their treaty rights, and no sooner was the fortification completed than attempts were made to destroy it. During the summer of 1813 the danger of complete destruction of the fort and great loss of life became more and more imminent. Finally, to avoid disastrous results, on the night of September 3, 1813, the soldiers loaded their supplies on boats and prepared to go down the river. Having set fire to the buildings, they left the fort and before the Indians realized what had happened the fort was burned and the soldiers were gone.

For several years a tall chimney remained, marking the site of the old fort. The Indians called this spot Potowonock—the place of the fire. In recent years another chimney has been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, marking for the visitors of today the location of this historic site.⁶¹

Fort Madison is the site of the State Penitentiary, established in 1839.

Burlington.— Crapo Park in the city of Burlington in Des Moines County is a beautiful wooded plateau of ninety acres, which is both historic and picturesque. At the eastern boundary of this area is a limestone bluff where "the rock above juts outward some five feet, forming a roof over what is called 'Lovers' Lane'." But to the student of history this place has a further significance, for in 1805 this plateau was selected by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike as a site for a fort.

The exploring party came to the present site of Burlington on August 23rd. Pike looked upon this area as "a very handsome situation for a garrison". The land which Pike so vividly described is now included in Crapo Park. At the

⁶¹ Van der Zee's Forts in the Iowa Country in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XII, pp. 173-177; Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 99, 103-109.

centennial of this expedition, in 1905, the citizens of Burlington erected a monument in the park "Commemorative of the First Unfurling of the Stars and Stripes on this site by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike".62

Old Zion Church.— On the west side of Third Street in Burlington between Columbia and Washington streets is an old theater, the front of which bears a significant bronze tablet. This marks the site, not of a former theater as one might suspect, but the historic location of the First Capitol of the Territory of Iowa, and an ancient house of worship - Old Zion Church.

When the erection of this church was begun, Burlington was the capital of the Territory of Wisconsin, and the capitol building was a small frame edifice on Water Street, facing the Mississippi River. In December, 1837, this building was destroyed by fire. In June of the following year the Territory of Iowa was created and since there was no capitol building at Burlington the legislature convened in the newly constructed Methodist Church building on Third Street.

After the church ceased to be used as a capitol, it served for many years exclusively as a house of worship. It was not, of course, originally called Old Zion. The sobriquet was derived from the following incident. In 1851, when the building needed repairs and a festival was planned to raise funds, handbills were printed which declared that "Old Zion wants a new roof". From that time forth, this historic edifice was known as "Old Zion Church".

The old church building has long been gone, but the bronze tablet on the front of a theater on Third Street

⁶² Antrobus's History of Des Moines County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I, pp. 10, 498, 499; Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 56-60; Pike's Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi. 1805-1806, p. 7.

marks, for visitors of today, the site where the old church stood. 63

Iowa Wesleyan College.— At Mt. Pleasant is Iowa Wesleyan College. As early as 1842 residents of Mt. Pleasant discussed the matter of establishing an institution of higher education. The following year land was donated for a site and in 1844 the school was incorporated under the name "Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute". In 1850 the college came under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was known as "Iowa Conference University". Four years later it was reincorporated under the name "Iowa Wesleyan University" and in 1911 the name was again changed to "Iowa Wesleyan College".

Iowa Wesleyan is one of the oldest colleges in Iowa—having had a continuous history since 1844. Its most distinguished president was James Harlan, who resigned his office as president to become United States Senator, and later became Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Lincoln.

It was at Iowa Wesleyan that seven college girls organized the P. E. O. sisterhood in 1869. As a memorial to the founders of this order, the sisterhood, in 1926, erected on the south campus at Wesleyan a beautiful P. E. O. Memorial Library, costing nearly \$150,000. The international headquarters of the sisterhood are located on the second floor.⁶⁴

The Harlan Home at Mt. Pleasant.—"At the end of the vista on North Main Street in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, stands an imposing old house with wide verandas and white col-

⁶³ Swisher's Old Zion Church in The Palimpsest, Vol. XIII, pp. 274-284.

⁶⁴ Historical Sketch and Alumni Record of Iowa Wesleyan College, pp. 13–39; The P. E. O. Record, Vol. XLI, Number 3, pp. 5, 6, Vol. XLIII, Number 1, p. 11.

umns", the Harlan Home. James Harlan came to Mt. Pleasant in 1853 as president of the Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute (now Iowa Wesleyan College). Two years later he was elected United States Senator. Thereafter, for many years, he spent much of his time in Washington, D. C., but during the summers he continued to reside at Mt. Pleasant. In 1857 he built a brick residence which later became a part of the Harlan Hotel. Some years later he established the home at the end of North Main Street.

In 1868 Mr. Harlan's only daughter, Mary, was married to Robert T. Lincoln, the only surviving son of the martyred President. After the marriage, Mary Harlan Lincoln spent much time at the Harlan Home in Mt. Pleasant and upon the death of Mr. Harlan, Mrs. Lincoln inherited this home and later donated it to Iowa Wesleyan University. On an old door, which is still preserved at the Harlan Home, may be seen marks which indicate the names, ages, and heights of three of the grandchildren of James Harlan and Abraham Lincoln.⁶⁵

Agency.—The town of Agency is located a few miles southeast of Ottumwa in Wapello County, on the site of the first Indian Agency in the Iowa country.

It was established soon after the signing of the treaty of 1837 by which the Sac and Fox Indians relinquished their right to an additional tract of land west of the Black Hawk Purchase, and early in 1838 General Joseph M. Street was transferred to the new agency of the Sacs and Foxes on the Des Moines River. Accompanied by Chief Poweshiek and a party of Indians, General Street set forth to examine the new country, selected the location, and contracted for the erection of the necessary buildings, including a family residence and office, blacksmith shop, and stables.

⁶⁵ Dyall's The Harlan Home in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 347-353.

In April, 1839, General Street removed his family from Prairie du Chien to the new agency. In the meantime his health had been gradually failing, and before the end of the year he was almost completely disabled. On the 5th of May the following year — 1840 — the General died and was buried at Agency. He was succeeded by a son-in-law, Major John Beach.

During his lifetime General Street had rendered valuable service to the government in adjusting Indian affairs, and he had won many friends among the Indians. Among these friends was Chief Wapello. Two years after the death of General Street, while on a hunting party in what is now Keokuk County, Chief Wapello himself sickened and died. In accordance with a request made by him sometime prior to his death, his remains were conveyed to Agency for interment near the grave of General Street.

The buildings erected by General Street withstood the storms of many winters. In 1881 the agency was referred to as "still an interesting relic" used for storage purposes and for the shelter of live stock. Remains of the buildings are no longer in evidence, but visitors at Agency may still look upon the graves of General Street, Major Beach, and Chief Wapello.⁶⁶

Winterset.—About half way between Osceola and Creston, Highway Number 34 intersects Route 169 which runs north through Winterset, the county seat of Madison County. In the courthouse there, the local historical society has an unusually valuable collection of pioneer articles of all kinds.

The Delicious Apple Tree.—At Peru, a few miles southeast of Winterset, stands the original Delicious apple tree,

⁶⁶ Waterman's History of Wapello County Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 23-54.

"famed for having more progeny than any other tree in the world." Seedlings which had been grown in Vermont were planted at Peru by Jesse Hiatt in 1872. One of these failed to bear and Mr. Hiatt grafted to it several varieties of branches. The grafts bore fruit and then the tree died. From the stump a sprout grew up. When it was large enough to bear, Mr. Hiatt discovered that he had a wonderful apple, which he called the "Hawkeye". Later the right to propagate the "Hawkeye" was purchased by the Stark Brothers Nurseries and Orchards Company and the name was changed to the "Delicious apple". In recent years the tree has been cared for by the Davey Tree Expert Company of Kent, Ohio. In 1922 a bowlder and bronze tablet were placed nearby as a monument to this famous old tree. 67

Pammel State Park.—A few miles southwest of Winterset is Pammel State Park. Because of the peculiar outcroppings of rock in that region, the area was formerly known as the Devil's Backbone State Park. In June, 1930, the park was rechristened in honor of L. H. Pammel, for many years one of Iowa's most ardent advocates of a systematic, convenient, and forward-looking park and conservation program.68

The Mormon Camp at Talmage.— At the town of Talmage in Union County one touches again the old Mormon Trail. There he may pause briefly to look upon a stone marker which indicates for the travelers of today a place where one of the Mormon camps was established in the westward trek of 1846.69

⁶⁷ Information received from the Davey Tree Expert Company of Kent, Ohio.

⁶⁸ Swisher's Historical and Memorial Parks in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 215, 216.

⁶⁹ Murphy's The Mormons Trek Across Iowa in Midland Schools, Vol.

The Icarian Colony.—In Adams County one passes through the region once held by the Icarians. The story of this communistic settlement begins in France. About 1840 a Frenchman by the name of Etienne Cabet published a book called Voyage en Icarie in which he set forth his ideas of an ideal community based upon socialistic principles. He soon had a large following and in 1849 some 250 followers of Cabet settled at Nauvoo, Illinois, and established a communistic society. Cabet, with some of his followers, soon went to St. Louis where he died. Some 225 persons remained at Nauvoo, however, and about 1860 this group moved to Adams County, near Corning, where they established a socialistic community known as Icaria.

There they owned about 3000 acres of land. All property of the community was held in common and all funds went into a common treasury, although individual homes were maintained and family relations observed. Property values were at one time estimated at more than \$60,000. For more than thirty years this communistic experiment continued, but with the passing of time, interest declined and finally in 1895 the experiment was abandoned. There is now no visible evidence of this pioneer community.⁷⁰

Institution for Feeble-Minded Children at Glenwood.— The State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children is located at Glenwood, in Mills County. During the years of the Civil War measures were taken to care for the children of soldiers whose lives were sacrificed in the service and in 1866 a law was passed establishing a Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Glenwood. Some eight years later the orphans

XLVI, pp. 193, 194; Van der Zee's *The Mormon Trails in Iowa* in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XII, pp. 3-16.

⁷⁰ Gray's The Icarian Community in Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 107-114; Gallaher's Icaria and the Icarians in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 97-112.

were removed from this home to Davenport, and in 1876 the General Assembly provided that the building at Glenwood should be used as an institution to care for the feebleminded children of the State. On June 30, 1926, the institution completed fifty years of service. At that time it was the home of more than sixteen hundred unfortunate children.71

Council Bluffs.—Passing on westward from Glenwood the tourist arrives at Council Bluffs. To the Mormons who founded the city this site was known as Miller's Hollow. Later it was called Kanesville, after Thomas L. Kane, a United States army officer who was friendly to the Mormons. As early as 1837 a company of United States dragoons, under the leadership of Captain D. B. Moore, erected a blockhouse near what is now Broadway between Union and Grace streets. A marker now indicates the site of this old blockhouse.

On a promontory at the end of Oakland Avenue, at a point overlooking the Missouri River, is an historic spot known today as Lincoln Point. There Abraham Lincoln stood when he visited Council Bluffs in 1859. There, too, it is said, he was so deeply impressed by the magnificent view of the broad valley and its natural advantages for railroad terminals "that afterwards when president he decided that Council Bluffs should be the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific railroad".

The Pacific House, where Lincoln lodged, has been torn down, and Concert Hall where he spoke and attended church services was burned soon after his visit there. In recent years, however, a beautiful monument has been erected at Lincoln Point commemorating the time when the great Emancipator looked westward from that point.72

⁷¹ History of Mills County (1881), pp. 565-577.

⁷² Babbitt's Early Days in Council Bluffs, pp. 42-60; Perkins's Trails, Rails and War, pp. 127, 128; The Des Moines Register, February 8, 1925.

FROM DAVENPORT TO COUNCIL BLUFFS

The vicinity of Davenport is rich in historic sites. Across one channel of the Mississippi River is Rock Island, where Fort Armstrong was built in 1816. Here Indians, fur traders, the army, civil officials, and settlers met.

The First Bridge Across the Mississippi at Davenport.—Visitors on the island of Rock Island opposite the present site of Davenport until recently might easily have passed by a moss-covered old stone embankment, without knowing its historic meaning. Upon further examination they would have become aware that the masonry was the remains of the first bridge that spanned the Mississippi River. Even this embankment has now been removed.

The bridge was completed in April, 1856. It was a wooden superstructure and rested upon six piers between the Island and the western shore. On one of the piers was a turntable or revolving section of the bridge which when turned at right angles to the remainder of the bridge left two openings, 116 feet on one side, and 111 feet on the other side, through which boats might pass.

The uninterrupted use of this bridge was, however, of brief duration, for a few days after the bridge was opened, the steamer Effie Afton was wrecked against one of the piers, the boat and one section of the bridge being destroyed. More than four months elapsed before the repairs could be completed and transportation resumed. A suit for damages was brought by the owners of the Effie Afton—a suit in which Abraham Lincoln appeared as attorney for the defendants. Action was also brought to have the bridge declared a nuisance. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States where the plaintiffs' contention was denied.

During the decade of the sixties the United States government began the construction of a new bridge. This was

completed in 1873, and the old bridge and track were removed. Nothing now remains to indicate where the old bridge across the Mississippi stood.⁷³

Fort Armstrong.— Fort Armstrong was located at the lower end of Rock Island, at a point near the bridge that now spans the Mississippi River. The land upon which this fort was erected had been acquired by the Federal government by the treaty of 1804. Prior to the War of 1812, however, the island was occupied only by Indians, who held it as a favorite hunting and fishing resort and looked upon it as the dwelling place of a good spirit. Between the years 1812 and 1816 it was occasionally visited by white men. In the spring of 1816 United States troops occupied the island and began the erection of a fort. Black Hawk, commenting upon this later, said, "We did not object to their building the fort on the Island but we were very sorry".

The fort enclosed an area four hundred feet square. The lower half of the walls was of stone, and the upper half of hewn timber, both timber and stone being procured on the island. At three of the corners — the northeast, southeast, and southwest — blockhouses were erected and equipped with cannon. One side of the square was occupied by the barracks and other buildings, built of hewn timbers, with roof sloping inward, as a protection against fire that might be started by the Indians.

After the close of the Black Hawk War a garrison was maintained at the fort until 1836 when the fort was evacuated and the troops were sent to Fort Snelling. In 1840 some of the buildings were repaired and an ordnance depot was established at the fort. This continued until 1845 when the supplies were removed to St. Louis. Thereafter, the

⁷³ Parish's The First Mississippi Bridge in The Palimpsest, Vol. III, pp. 133-141; Rock Island Magazine, October, 1922, pp. 16-18.

buildings were under civil jurisdiction until 1862 when the island was again taken over by the Federal government and the Rock Island Arsenal was established. The Arsenal is still in use.

There are now no remains of old Fort Armstrong, but in observance of the centennial of the erection of the fort, in 1916, a blockhouse — a replica of one of the original fortifications — was erected at the site of the old fort.⁷⁴

The Home of Colonel George Davenport.— Another site of historic interest located on the island of Rock Island is the home of Colonel George Davenport. This building is situated on the north side of the island, somewhat east of the location of old Fort Armstrong. Colonel Davenport came to Rock Island in 1816 in company with the troops sent to erect Fort Armstrong. After the completion of the fort he remained as a fur trader and merchant and during the Black Hawk War he served as quartermaster with the rank of colonel. When a town was laid out on the Iowa shore just west of the island it was named Davenport in honor of Colonel Davenport.

Only a few years after Mr. Davenport arrived at the island, he erected a house and established a home. The main part of the house was an imposing two-story building about 36 x 20 feet in dimensions with a large fireplace at each end. A log kitchen was later added to one side and an office room attached to another. There was the usual veranda in front with large white columns. In this unique pioneer dwelling Colonel Davenport lived for many years and there he was murdered on July 4, 1845. The dwelling has been repaired in recent years and still stands as an ancient and historic landmark.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Tillinghart's Rock Island Arsenal in Peace and in War, pp. 19-30.

⁷⁵ Leonard's The Davenport Home in the Rock Island Magazine, December, 1928, pp. 9, 10.

The Home of Antoine Le Claire.— The home of Antoine Le Claire, one of the founders of Davenport, is still preserved in Davenport. He once owned the land on which the city now stands. His home, originally located on Fifth Street near the present site of the railroad yards, is said to have been erected in 1832. In 1854 he gave it to the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad (now a part of the Rock Island lines). In 1923 the house was donated to the Daughters of the American Revolution to be maintained permanently by them as an historic shrine. The home is now located on Fourth Street. A bronze tablet on the side of the building tells something of its history.76

The Cody Birthplace.— Near the town of Le Claire in Scott County, a few miles northeast of Davenport, was the boyhood home of William F. Cody—Buffalo Bill. For many years the house in which the great showman was born stood vacant, bearing a sign "for sale". Recently, however, the building was sold to the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad for the sum of \$150 and was removed to the Cody Memorial Park at Cody, Wyoming. A marker in the village park at Le Claire indicates, however, that residents of Le Claire still pay their respects to the youth who grew up there to become one of the world's great showmen.⁷⁷

The Town of Buffalo.—Returning to Davenport, the tourist may choose to dip southward for a time on Highway Number 61 to visit Wild Cat Den State Park and the city of Muscatine. Following this route one arrives at the little town of Buffalo, near which in the late thirties was

⁷⁶ Leonard's The Antoine Le Claire House in the Rock Island Magazine, October, 1928, pp. 11, 12.

⁷⁷ Wagner's Buffalo Bill, Showman, in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 522-540; The Davenport Democrat, May 28, 1933.

located Clark's Ferry which was noted for having brought many of the very early settlers into the Iowa country. 78

Wild Cat Den State Park.—A little further westward along the wooded embankment of Pine Creek, near the entrance of Wild Cat Den State Park, is an old rustic mill built about 1848 and known as the Pine Creek Mill.

In 1833 Benjamin Nye and other sturdy pioneers came from Vermont and settled along Pine Creek. Presently a store was opened for the sale of coffee, sugar, molasses, salt, pork, and whisky; and a post office was established. Letters came addressed to "Iowa Post Office, Black Hawk Purchase, Wisconsin Territory". The New England settlers, remembering the capital city of their native State, named the new town Montpelier. The town of Montpelier never became large, and after a few years it was almost a deserted village.

In recent years an area of more than two hundred acres of the rugged land near the mill has been made into a picturesque park area and christened Wild Cat Den State Park. Its chief attraction is the beautiful little valley and the wooded bluffs, where the pleasantly thrilled tourist may peer into the cave formerly (and perhaps at present) occupied by the wild cat.⁷⁹

Muscatine.—At Muscatine one may visit the house in which Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) resided with his mother for a brief time during the decade of the fifties. In 1854 Orion Clemens, Samuel's brother, was one of the owners of the Muscatine Journal. The family home was at 109 Walnut Street near the present site of the Mississippi River

⁷⁸ Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. I, pp. 17, 20, Vol. X, p. 97.

⁷⁹ Christensen's The State Parks of Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVI, pp. 388-390; Swisher's Scenes of Rare Beauty in The Palimpsest, Vol. XII, pp. 234-253.

bridge. Samuel remained in Muscatine only a brief time, Orion remained somewhat longer, and the mother continued to reside there for many years. The Clemens home is an interesting old landmark of the days when Samuel Clemens was known as a "printer's devil", rather than as the world renowned "Mark Twain" of later years.

Muscatine was the birthplace of another humorist—Ellis Parker Butler, who was born there on December 5, 1869, and it is likewise the scene of many of his stories, where it usually appears as "Riverbank". His old home, Butler says, has been moved to the back of the lot and labeled "Ice". The building which once housed the oatmeal mill in which Butler got his first business training also remains.⁸¹

Springdale.— Leaving Muscatine one may strike northward on Highway Number 38 to its intersection with Highway Number 6, near Wilton Junction. He may desire to continue northward and westward in order to pass through the towns of Springdale and West Branch. The quiet little Quaker village of Springdale was once an important station on the Underground Railroad, and within two miles of this village one may still look upon the old William Maxon home—the house in which John Brown's associates found shelter in the winter of 1857-1858.

In 1857 Brown began to work upon definite plans to fight against slavery in Virginia. He enlisted thirteen men to assist him, and started eastward. When cold weather came, he and his party were at Springdale, Iowa. There the men spent the winter at the home of William Maxon, while Brown went east to secure funds. During the following

So Lorch's Mark Twain in Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XXVII, pp. 408-456, 507-547.

s1 Mott's Ellis Parker Butler in Brigham's Iowa Authors by Iowa Authors, pp. 33-42.

summer Edwin and Barclay Coppoc left the Quaker community to join the band. In October, 1859, Brown and about twenty men made a raid upon Harper's Ferry. It was unsuccessful. Some of the band were killed, others were taken prisoners, and a few escaped. Edwin Coppoc, one of the Springdale boys, was among those executed. His brother, Barclay Coppoc, escaped to Iowa.

The old Maxon home in which Brown and his party made their headquarters at Springdale has long been abandoned, and is now used only as a tool shed, but it is in such a dilapidated condition that it may soon disappear.⁸²

The Hoover Birthplace.— On the bank of Wapsinonoc Creek at the south edge of the town of West Branch stands one of the most noted of Iowa's homes — the birthplace of Herbert Clark Hoover, the first President of the United States born west of the Mississippi River. Originally the Hoover home consisted of but two rooms. In more recent years a story and a half addition has been added, and the original cottage is used as a kitchen. It is open to the public, however, and its owner, Mrs. Jennie Scellars, is proud of the fact that her home was the birthplace of a President.⁸³

The Old Stone Capitol.—Going westward from West Branch one comes again to Highway Number 6 at Iowa City. This site was selected as a suitable location for the capital of the Territory of Iowa in the late thirties. The historic monument that reflects most clearly these early governmental activities, and one which has had a significant

⁸² Richman's John Brown Among the Quakers, pp. 12-33; Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 289-291.

ss Leonard's Herbert Hoover's Birthplace in the Rock Island Magazine, August, 1928, pp. 23, 24; Swisher's Bert Hoover in The Palimpsest, Vol. IX, pp. 263-268.

part in the political and educational advancement of the Commonwealth of Iowa is the Old Stone Capitol, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1840. In 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845 Territorial assemblies convened there. When Iowa was admitted to the Union in 1846, Iowa City became the capital of the State, and subsequently the Capitol was the meeting place of six sessions of the General Assembly. Three Constitutional Conventions have been held there, and there it was that the present State Constitution was formulated.

In 1857, however, the seat of State government was removed to Des Moines and the Old Stone Capitol became the central building of the University campus — a commanding position which it has maintained through the years. Designed by a master mind and dedicated to a noble purpose by the pioneers of the Territory and the State, this old edifice, with its vine-covered walls, its classic proportions, its golden dome, and hanging staircase, rivals all other buildings in the Commonwealth in historic interest.⁸⁴

The State University.— The State University was established by law in 1847 and opened in the Mechanics' Academy in 1855. The President of the University occupies the former offices of the Governor of the Territory and the State of Iowa. On the second floor the Senate Chamber (on the north) and the House of Representatives Chamber (on the south) are used for lectures and conferences. The Memorial Union, Radio Station WSUI, the Museum, the Stadium, and the various hospitals are among the points of interest on the University campus. Housed in the Liberal Arts Building (newly named Schaeffer Hall) is the Library

⁸⁴ Shambaugh's Iowa City: A Contribution to the Early History of Iowa; Lathrop's The Capitals and Capitols of Iowa in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. IV, pp. 100-110; Iowa's Old Capitol (published 1928 by the State University), pp. 3-16.

of The State Historical Society of Iowa which was established by law in 1857. *The Palimpsest*, The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, and numerous books relating to Iowa history are the work of this Society.

The Kirkwood Home.— In Iowa City there is also the former home of Samuel J. Kirkwood, the Civil War Governor of Iowa. Mr. Kirkwood came to Iowa City from Ohio in 1855 and became a miller at Coralville. He first appeared in Iowa politics the following year at a convention held in the Old Stone Capitol for the purpose of organizing a Republican party. Three times Kirkwood was elected Governor, and twice he went to the United States Senate—a position which he resigned to become Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President James A. Garfield. His home on Kirkwood Avenue has been remodeled but still stands as an historic landmark of pre-Civil War days. Kirkwood is buried in Oakland Cemetery at Iowa City. 85

The Lucas Home.— At Iowa City one may also visit the former home of Robert Lucas, the first Governor of Iowa. A native of Virginia, a soldier in the War of 1812, a legislator for many years in Ohio, and twice Governor of that State, Lucas came to Iowa as Governor of the Territory in 1838. As Governor, Lucas resided at Burlington, but after retirement from the governorship he purchased land near Iowa City and in 1844 built a home on what was then known as Plum Grove Farm. A part of this land now lies within the city limits of Iowa City and the old home, now somewhat dilapidated and worn, still stands. In the Oakland Cemetery at Iowa City is the grave of Robert Lucas on which is a marker indicating his service in the War of 1812.86

⁸⁵ Leonard's The Kirkwood Home at Iowa City in the Rock Island Magazine, July, 1929, pp. 13, 14; Clark's Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, p. 81.

⁸⁶ Leonard's The Robert Lucas Home at Iowa City, Iowa, in the Rock Island Magazine, February, 1930, pp. 13, 14.

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The Amish Mennonites and the English River Congregation of the Church of the Brethren.— Among the shoppers on the streets of Iowa City one may see men whose plain clothing is fastened with hooks and eyes instead of buttons, and women in dresses and bonnets of plain colors and severe lines. The men are bearded. These are, probably, members of the Amish Mennonite settlement some twenty miles southwest of Iowa City. The settlement was begun in 1846. Although the Amish Mennonites live in a community, they are not communistic.⁸⁷

Not far from the Amish Mennonite settlement is another church group, the English River Congregation of the Church of the Brethren, two and one-half miles east of the village of South English, Iowa. These people, also called Dunkards, own the larger part of an area covering about thirty-six square miles. In dress these people resemble the Amish Mennonites.⁸⁸

The Camp of the Mormon Handcart Expedition.— About two miles west of Iowa City, just to the south of a small bridge on the east side of the little town of Coralville, lies an area of level ground with no buildings or markers to call attention to the historic interest of the place. Here in the summer of 1856 some 1300 Mormon converts from Europe, who had come to Iowa City by train, camped while waiting for their equipment for the overland trip to Salt Lake. Two-wheeled handcarts were provided, one for each four or five people, and, pushing or pulling the laden handcarts. these Mormon converts started from Iowa City in five detachments.⁵⁹

⁸⁷ Wick's The Amish Mennonites, pp. 34, 35.

⁸⁸ Kirkpatrick's The English River Congregation of The Church of the Brethren in the Iowa Monograph Series, No. 2.

⁸⁹ Mahan and Gallaher's Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls, pp. 247-254.

Amana.— Some twenty miles west of Iowa City on Highway Number 6, tourists are impressed by the quaint appearance of a strangely quiet and unassuming village. It is the town of Homestead. Four miles farther to the north and west a similar village — South Amana — appears. A tour of the region reveals in all "seven old-fashioned villages nestling among the trees or sleeping on the hillsides". About these seven villages stretch twenty-six thousand goodly acres of Iowa's fertile soil.

The history of Amana dates back to the German Mystics and Pietists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the Community of True Inspiration having developed into a distinct religious sect about the year 1714. The first organized Community of True Inspiration was located near Ronneburg. It soon became apparent, however, that exorbitant rents and unfriendly governments in the Old World would necessitate the finding of a home for the Inspirationists in the New World, and in 1842 a committee of four persons led by Christian Metz purchased the Seneca Indian Reservation—a tract of five thousand acres of land near Buffalo, New York. There six small villages were established and the community was known as the "Ebenezer Society".

Before long it became apparent that more space would be needed and land was purchased in Iowa County, Iowa. The first village at the new location was laid out in 1855 and was called Amana, signifying "remain true".

Within a few years five other villages were laid out within a radius of six miles from Amana and were named according to their locations, West Amana, South Amana, High Amana, East Amana, and Middle Amana. Prior to 1861 the nearest railroad station was Iowa City, which was twenty miles away. In that year the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad was completed as far as Homestead, a small

town south of the Amana territory. The Community saw the necessity of owning a railroad station and it purchased the entire village of Homestead. In 1932 the Society was reorganized as a joint stock company, and communism as such was abandoned.90

Grinnell.— As one moves on westward along the smooth, white pavement, he recalls that Horace Greeley once said: "Go West, young man, go West". In 1853, J. B. Grinnell, a Congregational minister of New York City, following the advice of Mr. Greeley, struck upon the idea of making a settlement in Iowa "with persons of congenial moral and religious sentiments" and with "pecuniary ability to make the school and church paramount and attractive institutions from the outset". And so in 1854 the town of Grinnell was established. The first house in the new settlement was known as the "Long Home" - a rude structure 14 by 60 feet in dimensions which afforded temporary shelter for the colony of pioneers which Mr. Grinnell had brought with him. Today at 1019 Broad Street in the city of Grinnell one may look upon a large bowlder with a bronze tablet bearing the inscription "This stone marks the site of the Long Home', the first house built in Grinnell".91

But of more significance than the bronze tablet, or even the "Long Home", itself, was the founding of Grinnell College. Residents of Grinnell very early fostered higher education and aspired to have a "University". In 1844 a group of pioneer ministers — members of the Iowa Band at Denmark Academy resolved upon founding a Christian college in Iowa. As a result Iowa College was founded in 1847 and located at Davenport. After a few years it was

⁹⁰ Shambaugh's Amana That Was and Amana That Is, pp. 70-116, 3S4-389; Shambaugh's Amana in The Palimpsest, Vol. II, pp. 193-228.

⁹¹ Bartlett's Early Days in Grinneli, pp. 3-22.

decided to move this college to Grinnell and consolidate it with "Grinnell University" and in 1859 Iowa College was reëstablished at Grinnell. The name was changed to Grinnell College in 1909.92

In 1882 Grinnell was visited and badly damaged by a cyclone. On the evening of June 17th of that year all was going merrily. A few hours later the town of Grinnell was in an agony of despair, the streets were full of broken trees, and men were creeping out of their wrecked homes or crawling over unoccupied foundations to find whether other members of the family were dead or injured as a result of the great storm. More than forty lives were lost—three of them being students at Grinnell College. All of the buildings of the college were completely destroyed. Only piles of brick and timber were left on the campus.⁹³

In more recent years Grinnell was the home of "Billy Robinson, Bird-man", pioneer non-stop aviator who met his death in his airplane a few miles south of Grinnell while making an altitude flight on March 11, 1916.94

Newton.— As one moves on westward from Grinnell he may forget for the moment that he is speeding along the highway at a rate known only to the modern age of the automobile. Indeed, he may well meditate upon conditions of pioneer life, for at Newton he will visit the boyhood home of Emerson Hough, author of that widely read story of pioneer days — The Covered Wagon. Hough was born at Newton in 1857. He attended the public schools, was graduated from the Newton High School, and from the State University of Iowa. In Newton a public school building has been named in his honor, and a bowlder and bronze

⁹² Parker's History of Poweshiek County, Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 118-128.

⁹³ Parker's History of Poweshiek County, Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 123-126.

⁹⁴ Ray's Billy Robinson, Bird-Man in The Palimpsest, Vol. XI, pp. 369-375.

tablet in a yard nearby mark the site of his boyhood home. The old Hough home, too, still stands.⁹⁵

Newton is known, however, not only as the boyhood home of a once eminent writer. It has another and quite different claim to distinction, for it is a matter of common knowledge that Newton is the world's center for the manufacture of washing machines.

Frederick L. Maytag, who has had a large part in the development of this industry, was born in Illinois in 1857 and came to Iowa with his parents when he was nine years old. In 1880 he became a clerk in an implement store in Newton. Two years later he purchased a half interest in the business. In 1894 he began the manufacture of self-feeders for threshing machines. It was not until 1907 that he began the manufacture of washing machines — the first machine being operated by hand power. Three years later power-operating machines were placed on the market. Iowa manufactures one-half of the washing machines produced in the United States, and ninety per cent of these are produced in Newton. 96

Colfax.—A few miles west of Newton is the city of Colfax, known for its mineral water and as the home of James Norman Hall, famous as an aviator in the World War and as a writer. Hall was born in Colfax on April 22, 1887. He now prefers to live in the South Seas.⁹⁷

Monroe City.—Iowa has many "ghost" towns—communities which have lived and then disappeared. South of

⁹⁵ Leonard's The Emerson Hough Home at Newton, Iowa, in the Rock Island Magazine, December, 1929, pp. 11, 12.

⁹⁶ The Book of Iowa, p. 60; Iowa Today, p. 86; Harlan's A Narrative History of the People of Iowa, Vol. III, pp. 301, 302.

⁹⁷ Gallaher's James Norman Hall in Brigham's Iowa Authors by Iowa Authors, pp. 125-134.

Colfax a few miles, on a crossroad about two miles southeast of Prairie City, is an area which was once selected as the capital of Iowa. This was Monroe City, located by State commissioners in 1847. Lots were sold, but the site was vacated the following year and Monroe City went out of existence, if such an unembodied capital could be said ever to have been in existence.⁹⁸

Fort Des Moines, No. 2.— As one approaches the city of Des Moines and beholds the shining dome of the State Capitol, he may recall that there are in that vicinity various points of historical significance. As early as 1835 troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Kearny were sent to the juncture of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers to "reconnoitre the position with a view to the selection of a site for the establishment of a military post". On November 12, 1842, Captain James Allen led a small detachment of dragoons to the mouth of the Raccoon River. The following year troops were directed to establish a garrison at the new post. Captain Allen named the new stronghold "Fort Raccoon". This was objected to as being "in very bad taste" and the name "Fort Iowa" was suggested. Winfield Scott settled the matter, however, by saying that unless otherwise ordered the post would be called Fort Des Moines. There was objection to this because it was thought that it would be confused with old Fort Des Moines on the Mississippi, but despite this objection the name was retained.

Troops were maintained at this fort until 1846 when the post was abandoned and the property was sold. Thus the history of the military post came to an end and the name,

⁹⁸ Briggs's The Removal of the Capital from Iowa City to Des Moines in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XIV, pp. 74, 75; Lathrop's The Capitals and Capitols of Iowa in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. IV, pp. 97-124.

later shortened to Des Moines, was adopted by the town which grew upon the site of the old fort and in 1857 became the capital of the State. In recent years a marker has been placed at the site where the old fort stood.⁹⁹

The State Capitol.— In the early fifties, when it became apparent that the center of population in Iowa would soon be near the geographic center of the State, there was agitation for a removal of the capital from Iowa City to a point farther westward and in January, 1855, a law was passed appointing commissioners to select another site, within two miles of the juncture of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers. The site at Des Moines was selected in 1856, and soon thereafter an association was formed to provide a suitable building. As a result "The Old Brick Capitol" was erected at a cost of \$37,000. This building, 55 x 108 feet in dimensions, was located a little south of the present State Capitol building.

Because of the panic of 1857 and the shortage of money during the period of the Civil War, no action was taken by the State toward the erection of a capitol building until 1868. The foundation stones are principally from the Bear Creek and Winterset quarries in this State. The basement story is from the Iowa City quarries. The buff colored stone in the superstructure came from St. Genevieve, Missouri, and the "blue stone" from Carroll County, Missouri. The granite cornerstone was once a "prairie boulder" in Buchanan County, which long ago was brought from the north land by the glaciers. The outside steps are the "Forest City" stone from Ohio, the red granite columns in the second story are from Iron Mountain, Missouri, while the dark granite in the base and cap of the pedestals is from Sauk Rapids, Minnesota.

⁹⁹ Gallaher's Fort Des Moines in Iowa History in Iowa and War, No. 22, pp. 7-19.

A period of more than fifteen years elapsed after the building was planned, before it was finally completed and ready for use. It was dedicated in January, 1884, and cost about \$3,000,000. On the east wall of the rotunda is the mural painting by Edwin H. Blashfield entitled "Westward". 100

The Soldiers' Monument.— Standing tall and erect on the summit of Capitol Hill, near the site of the Capitol Building, is a monument erected by the State in honor of the soldiers and sailors who served in the Civil War. The platform of the monument is sixty feet square and the total height of the shaft is one hundred and thirty-five feet. The platform, base, and shaft are of granite, the monument being surrounded, crowned, and ornamented with some forty statues, medallions, battle scenes, and other embellishments in bronze. At the top is a wingless Victory twenty-two feet high. In either of her hands are palms signifying peace and victory.

Imposing statues of bronze indicative of the navy, the infantry, the artillery, and the cavalry are main features of the monument. Shelby Norman, a youth of eighteen, who was Iowa's first martyr in the Civil War, is portrayed in bronze as the spirit of the infantry. William Henry Michael was chosen to represent the navy. The artilleryman is represented by Captain Henry H. Griffiths, while Lieutenant James Horton, who was killed at the battle of Lovejoy Station, represents the cavalry. The names of these men do not appear on the monument — their forms having been selected as representative of the group and not as an honor to the individual. Iowa generals and military leaders in considerable numbers also appear upon the monument with inscriptions identifying each.

100 Beall's The State Capitol, pp. 1-20; Lathrop's The Capitals and Capitols of Iowa in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. IV, pp. 112-124.

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The monument was designed by Mrs. Harriet A. Ketcham of Mt. Pleasant and was erected at a cost of about \$150,000. The cornerstone of the monument was laid on September 6, 1894 — James Harlan being the principal speaker of the day.¹⁰¹

The Historical, Memorial and Art Building.— North of the State Capitol and a little to the east is the Historical, Memorial and Art Building which houses the library and museum of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department, the State Library, and the Public Archives. The collections include war records, newspapers, paintings and pictures, the original cartoons of J. N. Darling (Ding), and Indian and pioneer articles. The building was constructed in 1899-1900.

Drake University.— At Des Moines is Drake University, one of the large privately endowed colleges of Iowa. It was established in 1881 and was named for Francis M. Drake, a former Governor of Iowa.

Fort Des Moines No. 3.— About four miles south of Des Moines is a military post known as Fort Des Moines — this being the third fort to bear that name in Iowa. Agitation for a fort and military reservation near Des Moines was begun in 1894. Seven years later 400 acres of land were purchased with funds raised at Des Moines. To this 525 acres were added by purchase by the Federal government to be used as a target range. In 1908 an addition of 350 acres was purchased. During the World War a base hospital was established there and beds were supplied for 1158

¹⁰¹ Weed's Handbook for Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, pp. S-111; Address of Ex-Senator James Harlan in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XI, pp. 360-373.

patients. At present Fort Des Moines is a regular army post. 102

Camp Dodge.— Some twelve miles northwest of the city of Des Moines is the site of Camp Dodge, which during the period of the World War was one of the largest and most active military centers of the Middle West. There, during a period of a little more than sixty days, in 1917, provision was made for the housing of 45,000 soldiers, at a cost of \$3,500,000.

This camp, consisting of seventy-eight and one-half acres, was first established in 1907 by authority of the Thirty-second General Assembly for the use of Iowa National Guard troops. In 1910 it was given the name Camp Dodge, in honor of General Grenville M. Dodge, one of Iowa's military leaders of the Civil War period and later influential in building the Union Pacific Railroad. When the World War was begun a camp was needed for Minnesota, Iowa, and North and South Dakota troops. Various sites were considered. Finally Secretary of War Newton D. Baker decided upon the location at Camp Dodge. It is said that "the fact that Camp Dodge was located near a saloonless city and at the center of a prohibition state" influenced the decision of Secretary Baker.

Additional land was purchased by the government, and the growth of Camp Dodge as a national training camp was phenomenal. For three miles or more this city extended north and south with its 1872 buildings, and its miles of smoothly paved streets "over which, of a Sunday, two almost continuous lines of automobiles could be seen creeping along in opposite directions".

With the passing of time the scene has changed again. Where there was once the tramping of many feet and the

¹⁰² Gallaher's Fort Des Moines in Iowa History in Iowa and War, No. 22, pp. 19-36.

hasty preparation for military action, there is now peace and quiet. The hastily constructed buildings have for the most part been torn down, the camp equipment has been sold or removed, and much of the land has been again converted into cornfields. A few buildings remain, however, and a small area is maintained as a National Guard camp.¹⁰³

Lewis, Atlantic, and Council Bluffs .- As one passes westward into Cass County he arrives once more in the area settled at an early date by the Mormons. In the late forties the Mormons established a station on the high land west of the Nishnabotna River, near the present town of Lewis. Pottawattamie Indians were frequently seen in that region, and so the pioneers called their settlement Indiantown. In 1854 a post office called Cold Spring was established near Indiantown. The name was soon changed to Lewis - the name of the town as well as the county being in honor of Lewis Cass, a former Governor of Michigan, later Secretary of State in the cabinet of President James Buchanan. The town of Lewis was the first county seat of Cass County and was on a direct route between Chicago and Council Bluffs. When the railroad was projected westward it was located a few miles north of Lewis, reaching the town of Atlantic in 1868. The following year, after a bitter contest, the county seat was removed to Atlantic. The region around Atlantic, Lewis, and the now long deserted village of Indiantown continues to have a significant place in the early development of western Iowa. 104

103 Brigham's Iowa: Its History and Its Foremost Citizens (Home and School Edition), Vol. II, pp. 753-771; Haynes's Social Work at Camp Dodge in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XVI, pp. 471-547.

¹⁰⁴ Swisher's The Location of County Seats in Iowa in The Iowa Journal OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXII, p. 120; Bushnell's Directory of Council Bluff's, 1869, p. 148.

Continuing westward one arrives for the second time at Council Bluffs.

Thus by various roads and by-ways a tourist may visit many points of historic interest in Iowa. If these are less renowned and appeal to us less than do the historic sites of Europe and the eastern States, it is perhaps because of their proximity to us. If the Little Brown Church, the original Delicious apple tree, or the town of Spillville were in Europe, Iowans would travel far to see them. Perhaps the day is not far distant when tourists will visit Iowa as a place of great interest and wish to see its historic sites.

JACOB A. SWISHER

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA IOWA CITY IOWA

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865, by Arthur Charles Cole. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. 468. Plates, maps. The decade and a half covered by this volume represents what is probably the most critical period in American history since the adoption of the Constitution. This book deals largely with social and economic life instead of with the political and military activities usually presented in histories. A suggestion of its scope may be had from the titles of the chapters: Prosperity and Panic; The Land of Chivalry; The South Militant; The Struggle for the New West; Farm and Field; Immigration Becomes a National Problem; The Growing Pains of Society; Health and Happiness; Educational and Cultural Advance; The Challenge to the Church; Fanatic and Doughface; Marshaling the Gray Host; The Battle Cry of Freedom; Northern Life Behind the Lines; The Beleaguered Confederacy; and Critical Essay on Authorities.

Copious notes, the extensive bibliography in the last chapter, and an index add much to the value of the volume, which is the fifth in the series A History of American Life, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. Seventeen illustrations taken largely from contemporary cartoons and pictures are included. Although the make-up of the book indicates that it is intended as an informative contribution, it is, in addition, interesting reading.

The Prairie Province of Illinois, by Edith Muriel Poggi, is printed in the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIX, No. 3.

State Names, Flags, Seals, Songs, Birds, Flowers, and Other Symbols, by George Earlie Shankle, has been published recently by the H. W. Wilson Company.

Pioneering in North Dakota, reminiscences by Charles H. Hobart, appears in the North Dakota Historical Quarterly for July, 1933, recently issued. Because of lack of funds, the publication of this journal will, it is announced, be suspended temporarily.

The Preferential Treatment of the Actual Settler in the Primary Disposition of the Vacant Lands in the United States to 1841, a summary of a dissertation by Henry Tatter, has been reprinted from the Summaries of Ph. D. Dissertations (Northwestern University), Volume I.

Indian Justice: A Cherokee Murder Trial at Tahlequah in 1840, as reported by John Howard Payne, edited by Grant Foreman, has recently been published by the Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This account of the trial of Archilla Smith, a Cherokee, for murder was first published in The New York Journal of Commerce, April 17 and 29, 1841.

The Printing Press Moves Westward, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; The Transition of a New-World Bohemia, by Esther Jerabek; and Building the Frontier Home, by Evadene A. Burris, are the three articles in Minnesota History for March. There is also an account of the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 8, 1934, and a report on its work and progress.

The February number of the Indiana History Bulletin contains a report of the fifteenth annual Indiana history conference held at Indianapolis on December 8-9, 1933. The papers and addresses printed include the following: The Bicentennial of Major General Arthur St. Clair, by Mrs. Frederic Krull; Preliterate Cultures in Indiana, by Glenn A. Black; and Successive Stages of Occupation of a Notable Prehistoric Site, by E. Y. Guernsey.

Seth Adams — A Pioneer Ohio Shepherd, by Charles Sumner Plumb; General John Graves Simcoe — A Canadian Governor Who Attempted to Make Ohio a Part of Canada, by James A. Green; General Edward S. Godfrey, by Calvin Pomeroy Godfrey; and William Oxley Thompson, by C. B. Galbreath, are the articles and papers in the January number of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.

Legal and Illegal Sales of Liquor in Boone County, by North Todd Gentry; Part I of The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri, by Ruby Johnson Swartzlow; the first installment of The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860), by Carle Brooks Spotts; and the fifteenth installment of Joseph B. McCullagh, by Walter B. Stevens, are the articles in The Missouri Historical Review for April.

The Northwest: Gift or Conquest?, by James Alton James; United Presbyterian Beginnings, by James Alton Woodburn; History on the Mississinewa, by Ross F. Lockridge; A Tour in the George Rogers Clark Country, by Viva W. Spieth; and Out at Aunt Louisa's, by Corinne Schenck Dahmen, are the articles and addresses in the Indiana Magazine of History for March. Wanderings in the West in 1839, a narrative by J. Gould is also included.

Jolliet Goes West, by Stanley Faye; A History of Saline County and A Brief History of Harrisburg Illinois, 1853–1933, both by the staff of the Mitchell-Carnegie Public Library; The White City, by Maurice Neufeld; The Different Editions of the "Debates of Lincoln and Douglas", by R. Gerald McMurtry; and Historical Markers for Illinois Highways, by Paul M. Angle, are the articles in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for April.

Frederick Jackson Turner and the New Deal, by Curtis Nettels; David Starr Jordan in Wisconsin, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; James R. Doolittle, by James L. Sellers; Memoirs of William George Bruce; and The Old Well at Dekorra, by M. Mannington Dexter, are the articles in The Wisconsin Magazine of History for March. Under Documents there is the Diary of Thomas Woodward while Crossing the Plains to California in 1850.

Agricultural History for January, 1934, contains two articles— English Views of Middle Western Agriculture, 1850–1870, by Harry J. Carman; and Transportation and the Livestock Industry of the Middle West to 1860, by Charles T. Leavitt. The April issue contains three articles—The South in Our Times, by Herman Clarence Nixon; Grasshopper Plagues and Early Dakota Agriculture, by Harold E. Briggs; and Source Literature of Early Plant Introduction into Spanish America, by George W. Hendry. Seeing Michigan in 1841, by Lansing B. Swan; Chief Gray Hawk, Last of the Nepissings, by Katherine Banta; Early French Explorations in the Lake Superior Region, by Harry B. Ebersole; Lumbering Days, by Carl A. Leech; Slaves in Old Detroit, by Harley Lawrence Gibb; Little Journeys in Journalism, by Walter C. Boynton; and Letters from the Long Ago, by Anna Brockway Gray, are the articles in the spring number of the Michigan History Magazine. This issue also includes the twenty-first annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission for 1933.

The American Historical Review for April contains an account of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Urbana, Illinois, and two articles: Whig Propagandists of the American Revolution, by Philip G. Davidson; and The Retrocession of Louisiana in Spanish Policy, by Arthur P. Whitaker. Under Notes and Suggestions Thomas P. Abernethy presents Commercial Activities of Silas Deane in France and Thomas M. Spaulding contributes Propaganda or Legend. Under Documents, Holden Furber presents Fulton and Napoleon in 1800: New Light on the Submarine Nautilus. A supplement to this number contains a List of Research Projects in History Exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations, Now in Progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley, by W. Neil Franklin; Expansion in West Florida, 1770–1779, by Cecil Johnson; Pioneer Health and Medical Practices in the Old Northwest Prior to 1840, by R. Carlyle Buley; The Development and Decline of Open Range Ranching in the Northwest, by Harold Briggs; Fort Charles III, Arkansas: Reports for the Year 1783, by Jacobs Dubreuil, Commandant, by Anna Lewis; and Kitchen Physick: Medical and Surgical Care of Slaves on an Eighteenth Century Rice Plantation, by St. Julien R. Childs, are the articles in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for March. Sections and Sectionalism in a Border State, by Jonas Viles; The Indian Trust Funds, 1798–1865, by George D. Harmon; The Slavery Question — and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846–48, by John D. P. Fuller; Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25: An Episode of Fur Trade and Empire, The Snake Country Expedition

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Correspondence, 1824-25, by Frederick Merk; Gladstone and the Red River Rebellion, by Paul Knaplund; and The Time of Mark Hanna's First Acquaintance with McKinley, are the articles and documents in the June number.

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A biographical sketch of James Elliott Harlan appears in the memorial number of the *Cornell College Bulletin* dated January 30, 1934.

Pioneer Banking Days in Des Moines, a paper prepared by Wm. Fleming at the request of D. J. Van Liew, is one of the articles in the Northwestern Banker, June, 1934.

The First Methodist Episcopal Church at Burlington, Iowa, recently issued a pamphlet entitled *One Hundred Years*, commemorating the centennial anniversary of the founding of the church. A brief history of the church is included.

Is Our National Farm Plant Too Large?, by Theodore W. Schultz, and Farm Mortgage Policy, by William G. Murray, make up the fifth and sixth installments of Prospects for Agricultural Recovery. These constitute Nos. 314 and 315 of the Bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Station Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

An installment of William Salter's Letters to Mary Ann Mackintire 1845-1846, edited by Philip D. Jordan, appears in the April number of the Annals of Iowa. These letters, written to the young woman who later became his wife, are part of a large collection which are being prepared for publication. This number includes a second installment of Judge Orlando C. Howe, by F. I. Herriott. This is made up chiefly of Judge Howe's correspondence between 1855 and 1863.

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Aldrich, Bess Streeter,

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Anderson, Paul Bunyan,

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Aumann, Francis R.,

The Changing Relationship of the Executive and Judicial Branches (Kentucky Law Journal, January, 1934).

Baker, Margaret,

Cat's-Cradles for His Majesty. New York: Duffield and Company. 1934.

Beer, Thomas,

Mrs. Stephen Crane (The American Mercury, March, 1934). Prominence (The Saturday Evening Post, April 7, 1934).

Benton, E. Maxwell,

The War Debts Policy of the United States (Reprinted from Social Science, July, 1933, January, 1934).

Betts, E. A.,

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Betts, George Herbert,

Rethink Religious Education! (Christian Century, March 14, 1934).

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Bontrager, O. R.,

An Experimental Appraisal of Pupil Control of Certain Punctuation Items (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. IX, No. 2). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1934.

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The Youth of Old Age. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 1934.

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Not For Sale (Collier's, March 3, 1934).

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Brown, Charles Reynolds,

They Were Giants. New York: Macmillan Company. 1934.

Burgess, Robert Louis,

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1934).

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Father Coughlin (The New Republic, May 2, 1934).

Two Centuries Look Down Upon This Home; Valle House, Ste. Genevieve, Mo. (Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1934).

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Power Alcohol and Farm Relief (The Deserted Village, No.3). New York: Chemical Foundation. 1934.

Cook, Louis H.,

Fishes Like Neckties (The American Magazine, May, 1934).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Fadeless Imprint (poem) (Parents' Magazine, May, 1934).

Daum, F. Arnold,

The Transaction of Business Within a State by a Non-Resident as a Foundation for Jurisdiction (Iowa Law Review, March, 1934).

Dike, Edwin Berck,

Our Obsolete Vocabulary: Some Historical Views (Philological Quarterly, January, 1934).

Eriksson, Erik McKinley,

New Viewpoints on the Jacksonian Period (The Social Studies, April, 1934).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

Evening Dialogue (poem) (The American Mercury, April, 1934).

Fillmore, Eva A., (Joint author)

The Influence of Environment Upon the Personality of Children (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. IX, No. 2). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1934.

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New York: Chemical Foundation. 1934.

Funke, Erich,

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Gallaher, Ruth A.,

The Man (Thomas H. Macbride) (The Palimpsest, May, 1934).

Giddens, Paul H.,

The Views of George Bancroft and Charles A. Beard on the Making of the Constitution (The Journal of American History, Vol. XXVII, 1933).

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Research in Farm Structures (Architectural Record, April, 1934).

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Long Remember. New York: Coward-McCann. 1934.

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The State of Iowa (Brigham and McFarlane's Our Home State and Continent, Book II). New York: American Book Company. 1934.

Kintzle, Clarence A.,

The Julien Theater (The Palimpsest, April, 1934).

Merriam, Charles Edward,

Civic Education in the United States. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934.

Murray, William G.,

Farm Mortgage Policy (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 315). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1934.

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The Turn of the Tide (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., April, 1934).

Nixon, Herman Clarence,

The South in Our Times (Agricultural History, April, 1934).

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Petersen, William J.,

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Porter, Kirk H.,

The Strangling Net of Special Rates (National Municipal Review, April, 1934).

Read, Allen Walker, (Joint author)

Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-Names (The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IX, No. 1). Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri. 1934.

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- Indian relics found near Glenwood, in the Glenwood Opinion-Tribune, January 11, 1934.
- Iowa farmers in the '80's, by B. C. Kindig, in the Sioux City Tribune, January 15, 1934.
- Some history of Buena Vista College, in the Storm Lake Register, January 16, 1934.
- Early days in Grinnell, by W. G. Ray, in the *Grinnell Herald*, January 16, 19, 1934.
- An early debating society, by Ed Henderson, in the Lake Mills Graphic, January 17, 1934.
- Mrs. Mattie Greeley, editor of the *Grand River Local*, in the *Alden Times*, January 18, 1934.
- The Chapel Evangelical Church near Marshalltown is sixty years old, in the Marshalltown Times-Republican, January 18, 1934.
- Archaeological discoveries in Mills County, by Ray E. Colton, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, January 18, 25, and the *Red Oak Express*, January 22, 1934.
- The pioneer home, by Granville O. Hunter, in the Keosauqua Republican, January 18, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of John H. Kolthoff, in the New Hampton Tribune-Gazette, January 18, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Clay Bowersox, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, January 19, 1934.
- The story of Albany, "lost city" of Appanoose County, by Austin Jay, in the *Bloomfield Democrat*, January 19, 1934.

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- Old records of the Preston Congregational Church, in the *Clinton Herald*, January 25, 1934.
- When horse thieves were captured in Boone County, in the Madrid Register-News, January 25, 1934.
- William A. Clark was first mayor of Keokuk, in the Keokuk Gate City, January 26, 1934.
- The beginnings of Mason City, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, January 27, 1934.
- L. F. Wilson describes early Iowa prairie fire, in the Hopkinton Leader, February 1, 1934.
- Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Gillaspie celebrate 63rd wedding anniversary, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, February 2, 1934.
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- Mrs. Horace A. Miller has collection of Civil War currency, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, February 4, 1934.
- William Atwill, Iowan, becomes vice president of Illinois Central system, in the Storm Lake Register, February 6, 1934.
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- Beginnings of Janesville, by Ruth McCaffree, in the Waverly Independent-Republican, February 7, 1934.

- History of settlement of Buchanan County, by Paul G. Miller, in the *Independence Conservative*, February 7, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Elbridge H. Sabin, in the Clinton Herald, February 9, 1934.
- Ray E. Colton studies archeology of Webster and Dubuque counties, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, February 10, and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 25, 1934.
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- Rufus Rittenhouse recalls pioneer days in Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 14, March 4, 11, 18, 1934.
- The Independence Guards in Civil War days, in the *Independence Conservative*, February 14, 1934.
- Pioneer schools in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the Madrid Register-News, February 15, 1934.
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- Gideon Gardner settled in Gardner's Grove in 1854, in the *Grinnell Herald*, February 16, 1934.
- E. L. Root of Delta kept diary fifty-six years, in the Oskaloosa Herald, February 16, and the Cedar Rapids Gazette, February 25, 1934.

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- Mrs. Naomi H. Howard recalls pioneer days in and about Webster City, in the *Des Moines Register*, February 21, 1934.
- "Irvington What Can Happen in One Lifetime", by Harvey Ingham, in the Des Moines Register, February 21, 1934.
- Lost in an Iowa blizzard in 1869, by Frank Kelley, in the *Inde*pendence Conservative, February 21, 1934.
- Sketch of the career of G. W. Burnham, dean of Benton County lawyers, by B. H. Kruse, in the *Cedar Valley* (Vinton) *Times*, February 22, 1934.
- Find old Kentucky rifle belonging to A. M. Spies, in the Winterset News, February 22, 1934.
- R. W. Vasey has unique book of signatures of congressmen from 1868 to 1876, in the *Emmetsburg Democrat*, February 22, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Thaddeus W. Maxson, in the West Liberty Index, February 22, 1934.
- Leonard Everett has pictures of members of Council Bluffs Bar in 1898, in the Council Bluffs Nonpared, February 24, 1934.
- Charles N. Marvin has edited Shenandoah Sentinel 46 years, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, February 25, 1934.
- Leroy Moomey recalls pioneer days in Johnson County, in *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 26, 1934.

- Willard Bell has interesting collection of coins, in the Williamsburg Journal-Tribune, March 1, 1934.
- Early education in Keosauqua, in the Keosauqua Republican, March 1, 1934.
- Keokuk in 1856, in the Keokuk Gate City, March 1, 1934.
- Dr. Mary Walker taught at Lenox College, in the Manchester Press, March 1, 1934.
- Early courthouses in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the Madrid Register-News, March 1, 1934.
- New ferry boat in service between Onawa and Decatur, in the Onawa Democrat, March 1, 1934.
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- Incidents in the life of an Iowa school teacher, by Mary A. Richards, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, March 2, 23, 1934.
- Samuel D. Dixon residence erected in 1839, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 4, 1934.
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- Jacob Sherbonda built log cabin near Monona in thirties, in the Des Moines Register, March 10, 1934.
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- Traer Star-Clipper selected for second time as "All American" newspaper, in the Traer Star-Clipper, April 20, 1934.
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- Pioneers of Irvington, by Louisa Crose McNutt, in the Kossuth County (Algona) Advance, March 22, 1934.
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- Mrs. Nettie Kraft recalls hard times in Buchanan County, in the Independence Conservative, April 4, 1934.
- John Box came to Lee County in 1833, in the Fort Madison Democrat, April 4, 1934.
- Pella during the California gold rush, in the *Pella Press*, April 4, 1934.
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- Judge Austin Adams entertained Greeley, Emerson, and Alcott, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, April 8, 1934.
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- Revival of Grange in Poweshiek and adjoining counties, in the Grinnell Register, April 12, 1934.
- Chief Poweshiek unfolds Indian lore at Grinnell schools, in the Grinnell Herald, April 13, 1934.
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- Beginnings of Charles City, in the Charles City Press, April 17, 1934.
- Early days in St. Charles, in the St. Charles News, April 19, 1934.
- E. R. Zeller recalls editorial excursion to Salt Lake City in 1872, in the Des Moines Register, April 19, 1934.
- Beginnings of tennis in Sioux City region, by W. S. Gilman, in the Sioux City Journal, April 22, 1934.
- Magnolia and Calhoun were early rivals, in the *Harrison County* (Logan) *Herald*, April 26, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Judge Henry Silwold, in the Des Moines Tribune, April 28, 1934.
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- Coming to Iowa in 1864, by Frank Kelley, in the *Independence* Conservative, May 2, 1934.
- C. W. Gaston was first settler in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the Madrid Register-News, May 3, 1934.
- Cherokee Indians encamp on Chariton River, in the *Chariton Herald-Patriot*, May 3, 1934.
- Angus C. McLaughlin has clock 151 years old, in the Des Moines Tribune, May 4, 1934.

- Alexander Young cabin in Sunset Park built in 1840, in the Washington Journal, May 5, 1934.
- Historic buildings in Delaware County, in the Manchester Press, May 10, 1934.
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- John T. Adams home is historic Dubuque landmark, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, May 13, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Julia Bruguier Conger, in the Sioux City Journal, May 13, 1934.
- Peaceful Valley, by Ellis E. Wilson, in the Waterloo Courier, May 14, 1934.
- Mrs. Almira Marie Reynolds is Allamakee County's oldest resident, in the Waukon Republican & Standard, May 16, 1934.
- Dr. W. H. Blancke has served Iowa Lutheran Churches two score years, in the *Newton News*, May 16, 1934.
- R. S. McGeehan is veteran bass drummer, in the Fort Madison Democrat, May 17, 1934.
- Ferries were important aids to transportation in early Iowa, by Harvey Ingham, in the Des Moines Register, May 19, 1934.
- Sketch of the career of Judge John F. Oliver, in the Sioux City Journal, May 19, and the Onawa Democrat, May 24, 1934.
- Mrs. Marian A. Clark's husband fought in War of 1812, by Adeline Taylor, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, May 20, 1934.
- Hugo Schroder has gained world recognition as bird photographer, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 20, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Mary M. B. Carran, in the West Branch Times, May 24, 1934.
- Lincoln Center Christian Reformed Church is fifty years old, in the Grundy Center Register, May 24, 1934.

- Brigadier General Palmer E. Pierce was former Traer man, in the Traer Star-Clipper, May 25, 1934.
- Fairview School, first in Linn County, was established in 1856, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, May 25, 1934.
- Grave of Ansel Briggs, first State Governor of Iowa, in cemetery at Andrew, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, May 27, and the *Clinton Herald*, May 28, 1934.
- Indian painting on high bluff near Waukon Junction, in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, May 27, 1934.
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- Sketch of the life of Dr. William Henry Watson, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 27, 1934.
- The old Antoine Le Claire house, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 29, 1934.
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- The story of Black Hawk, by Editha L. Watson, in the Britt Tribune, May 30, 1934.
- Julius Packard has Indian tomahawks, in the *Parkersburg Tribune*, May 30, 1934.
- Lewis Clark tells of sport in pioneer Iowa, in the Seymour Herald, May 31, 1934.
- Albert Shaw as a fellow printer knew him in 1875–1885, by W. H. Day, in the *Grinnell Herald*, June 1, 1934.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Filson Club celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at a garden party held on May 15, 1934.

The Illinois Police Association has announced that an historical pageant—"The Epic of the Prairie State"—will be presented on Soldier Field at Chicago on June 30th.

Charles B. Galbreath, secretary, editor, and librarian of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, died on February 23, 1934. Dr. Harlow Lindley has been elected to succeed Mr. Galbreath.

The Missouri Historical Society gave its annual dinner in commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase on April 28, 1934. Edward Everett Dale gave an address on "The Spirit of the Pioneers" and Eagle Plume of the Blackfeet nation gave tribal dances.

The Illinois State Historical Society held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at Springfield on May 10 and 11, 1934. The program included the following addresses: "New Salem: A Lincoln Episode", by Benjamin P. Thomas; "Oliver Pollock and the Winning of the Illinois Country", by James Alton James; and "Recording the Early Architecture of Illinois in the Historic American Buildings Survey", by Thomas E. O'Donnell.

The Fifteenth Annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 8-9, 1933, under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Bureau. The program included the following papers and addresses: "Preliterate Cultures in Indiana", by Glenn A. Black; "Successive Stages of Occupation of a Notable Prehistoric Site", by E. Y. Guernsey; "Early Indiana Graduates in Medicine from Transylvania University", by L. G. Zerfas; and "The Need of a High-School Text in Indiana History and How to Obtain It", by Logan Esarey.

IOWA

A pageant depicting the history of Plymouth County was held at Le Mars on June 7th.

Cascade will observe its centennial with a seven-day celebration beginning on June 28th and closing on July 4th.

Fred W. Hill, editor-owner of the *Hamburg Reporter*, has made an interesting and valuable collection of Indian tools and arrowheads.

Grinnell celebrated its eightieth anniversary on April 11-13, 1934. A parade, music, and speeches were features of the celebration.

The First Congregational Church of Dubuque observed its 95th anniversary on May 15, 1934. A group of seven met and organized the church on May 12, 1839.

Waterloo will observe its 80th anniversary on June 13, 1934. One hundred thousand spectators are expected to view the parade which will be a feature of the celebration.

A bronze tablet, marking the site of an old blockhouse which was the first building in Council Bluffs, was dedicated on Sunday, May 6, 1934. Speeches were made by Rev. J. R. Perkins, Rev. P. N. McDermott, and Maj. Gen. Mathew A. Tinley.

The Marshall County Historical Society has been assigned a separate room in the courthouse for storing its records. President A. A. Moore appealed to the board of supervisors for the storage space and C. W. A. labor was used in the removal and proper cataloguing of the records.

The complete restoration of Fort Atkinson is being considered as a civilian conservation corps project, according to L. A. Burbank, superintendent of the C. C. C. camp at Decorah, Iowa. Architects have pronounced the plan feasible and the restoration is contingent upon final approval by Federal authorities.

The week of April 22-28, 1934, was celebrated as centennial week by the First Methodist Episcopal Church at Burlington. It was on the last Sunday in April, 1834, that the first Methodist Class in what is now the State of Iowa was organized at the cabin of Dr. William R. Ross, with the Reverend Barton H. Cartwright in charge.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was the speaker at a meeting of the Iowa City Teachers' Club on April 30, 1934. His subject dealt with various phases of present day education.

A paper on "Migrations Westward to the Mississippi" was read by Dr. William J. Petersen before the Trails and Migrations session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Columbia, Missouri, on April 27, 1934.

On March 28th, Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave a paper on "Present Trends in the Status of Women" at the State Convention of the League of Women Voters, which met at Estherville.

Dr. William J. Petersen, research associate in the State Historical Society, is in charge of an historical tour through the western States from July 21 to August 21, 1934. The trip will be an educational tour for college credit sponsored by Drake University and lectures will be given at various places visited.

The Ellison Orr collection of archaeological material from the valley of the Upper Iowa River in Allamakee and Winneshiek counties has been augmented by a large collection of arrow heads and flint pieces. This remarkable representative collection of prehistoric articles was made by Mr. Ellison Orr of Waukon, Iowa, and is deposited in the rooms of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

The following persons were recently elected to membership in the Society: Mr. R. C. Hoag, Monticello, Iowa; Mrs. Marie Alice Hromek, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Marion H. Morrison, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Louis H. Smith, Battle Creek, Iowa; Mr. Thomas

W. Bittle, Punxsutawney, Pa.; Dr. G. M. Ellison, Sabula, Iowa; Mr. Albert Halvorson, Saint Ansgar, Iowa; Mr. E. N. Roberts, Clarksville, Iowa; Mr. Ralph W. Smith, Newton, Iowa; Mr. Dayton H. Winter, Independence, Iowa; Mr. William A. Graf, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, Illinois; and Mr. J. M. McDonald, Dubuque, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Fairfield (Iowa) Picnic was held in Bixby Park, Long Beach, California, on April 14, 1934.

"Where Is Our Money", an editorial by E. P. Chase, a life member of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was awarded the Pulitzer prize as the best editorial of 1933. It appeared in the Atlantic News-Telegraph on December 2, 1933.

"Vendue", a painting by Robert B. Tabor of Independence, representing a closing out sale on an Iowa farm, has been chosen by President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to hang in the White House. The painting was done as one of the PWA projects.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes of Mt. Vernon, State Archaeologist, attended a meeting of the Midwest Archaeology Society held at Indianapolis on May 10–12, 1934, and gave an address on "Iowa Archaeology". On his return he was accompanied by a number of archaeologists, including Dr. F. H. Dewell of the University of Chicago, Dr. W. P. McKern of the Milwaukee Public Museum, and Dr. E. H. Bell of the University of Nebraska. The party made an extensive study of the Iowa archaeological material collected by Dr. Keyes.

The Northeastern Iowa National Park Association held its annual meeting at Strawberry Point on May 11, 1934. The officers who were reëlected were: Walter H. Beall of West Union, president; R. G. Miller of Lansing, vice president; H. S. Rittenhouse of Monona, secretary; and C. J. Orr of Monona, treasurer. Dr. Charles R. Keyes reported in a letter read at the meeting that one mound area in the site of the proposed national park area has already been destroyed since it was surveyed and another has been damaged.

A joint meeting of the Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists, the Iowa Political Science Association, and the Iowa His-

torical Association, was held at Grinnell on May 4 and 5, 1934. Officers of the three associations were elected at the regular business meetings. H. W. Bohlman was named president and J. M. Henry secretary-treasurer of the Economists and Sociologists; Kirk H. Porter was elected president and J. A. Swisher secretary and treasurer of the Political Scientists; and Knut Gjerset was chosen president and R. R. Fahrney recorder of the Historians.

Lawrence De Graff, a former Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa, died at his home at Des Moines on June 7, 1934. Judge De Graff was born at Apple River, Illinois, on June 24, 1872. He began the practice of law at Chicago, but moved to Des Moines in 1898 where he was secretary and instructor in Highland Park College of Law. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant Attorney General and in 1907 he was appointed county attorney of Polk County. Three years later he was elected a judge of the district court of Polk County and in 1920 he was elected to the Supreme Court. He was reëlected in 1926, but was defeated in the election of 1932. Judge De Graff was the author of a number of legal textbooks, including Outlines in Civics and Iowa Laws, Abridged.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACOB ARMSTRONG SWISHER, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1931, p. 458, and October, 1932, p. 592.)



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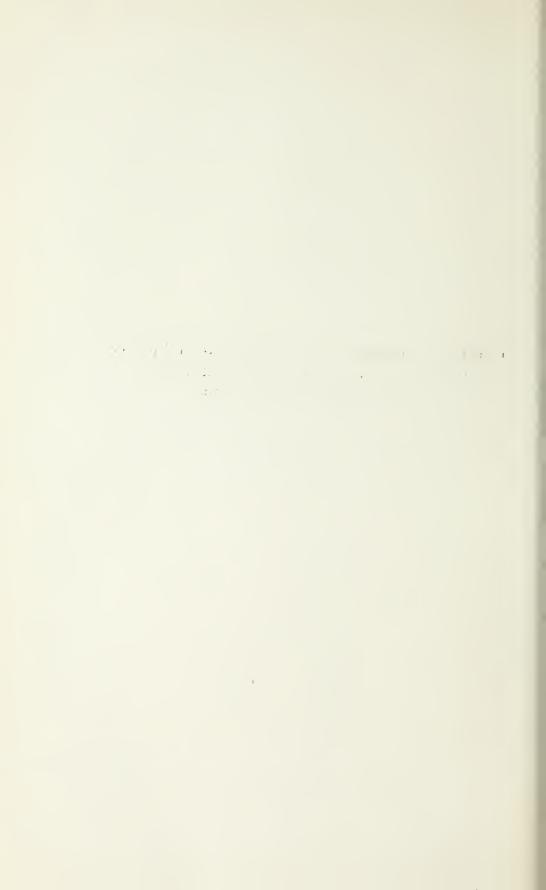
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THE SIFTING COMMITTEE AS A LEGISLATIVE EXPEDIENT

Among criticisms commonly directed at the procedure of the State legislature is its use of a Sifting Committee near the close of the session. Such a committee, it is said, places too much power in the hands of a few legislators and makes impossible sufficient consideration of the large number of bills placed in its hands. The expedient of appointing a committee to determine what bills shall be acted upon in the closing days of a legislative session is, however, in general use, and for this reason, if for no other, the Sifting Committee would appear to warrant careful study before judgment is passed on it. It is the purpose of this paper to survey briefly the operation and effects of Sifting Committees in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-fifth General Assemblies of Iowa.

LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE IOWA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In Iowa, all the members of the House of Representatives and approximately one-half of the Senators are elected every two years. Thus at each session of the General Assembly at least half of the Senators have had experience in a legislative session. In the House of Representatives the number of new members is always large. In the Forty-fifth General Assembly 70 members had had no previous legislative experience and 22 had been in the legislature for only one session. Out of the 108 members only 16 had had more than one session of legislative experience.

In the beginning, few of the members who have not had previous legislative experience really understand the com-

plicated and technical rules of parliamentary practice, and a mastery of such procedure is not easily gained in one session.

When the General Assembly convenes some experienced member promptly moves that the rules of the previous session be adopted. To this motion the new members, unfamiliar with the rules of legislative procedure, promptly agree. Little do they realize that they have bound themselves to a system of rules which was designed to make the insurrection of new members extremely difficult.

Moreover, the new members are often completely bewildered by the complex problems with which the modern legislature is confronted. Yet when a vote is taken they must either take a stand or be recorded as absent or not voting. Naturally they seek advice from the more experienced party leaders. The writer once sat beside an old classmate in the State Senate on a busy afternoon near the end of the session when bills were being called up and acted upon at a rapid rate. At least a dozen members came to this man's desk during the afternoon with the question: "Which is our side on this bill?" He told them and they seemed relieved to know how to vote.

EARLY LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

In the pioneer days the problems of legislation were few and comparatively simple. The Common Law was administered by the courts and there was little pressure of special interests. The maintenance of public order, the protection of property, the establishment of roads, and the organization of local governments were the problems which chiefly occupied the time of the legislators of our young and growing Commonwealths.

In these early days in Iowa, following the precedents of other States, a legislator had to obtain permission of the house of which he was a member to introduce a bill. In other words he had to show that there was some need for the proposed legislation before he could introduce it. The rule which established this procedure in the Territorial Council read: "Every bill shall be introduced by motion for leave, or by order of the Council on the report of a committee; and in either case a committee to prepare the same shall be appointed. In cases of a general nature one day's notice at least shall be given, of the intention to bring in a bill."

The journals of the early legislative sessions are full of entries such as the following: "Mr. Payne gave notice that on tomorrow, or some future day, he would move for leave to introduce a 'Bill to provide for common Schools'." If no objection was made the chair promptly appointed a committee of which the mover was usually made chairman to prepare and submit such a bill. A later entry in the journal reads: "Mr. Payne, on previous notice and leave granted introduced 'A Bill to provide for Common Schools'; which was read, ordered to be laid upon the table and printed."

Thus a proposed law had not only to justify its existence before introduction, but also to run the risk of dying on the table after its submission to the house. Under such procedure the privilege of introducing numberless bills by merely dropping them in a hopper at the desk of the presiding officer did not exist, and as long as the sifting process was applied before legislative proposals assumed the dignity of bills it was easy to check trivial and unworthy propositions.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

As legislative problems became more complex and the volume of bills increased, the request to introduce a bill became a mere formality, and the privilege was seldom or

never denied. As a result the creation of standing committees to give preliminary consideration to legislative projects and to exercise a censorship over the mass of legislative proposals became universal. This system, says Bryce, "was recommended not only by its promising a useful division of labour, but by its recognition of republican equality."

In view of the number of bills introduced in the average State legislature, the committee system would seem to be a very useful expedient in sorting out the worthy from the unworthy proposals. But the committee system frequently fails to perform this function, just as the old rule requiring leave to introduce a bill did; and near the end of a session each house, almost buried under a mass of bills, finds it necessary to create a super committee and give it dictatorial powers to determine what bills shall be acted upon.

Commenting upon the fact that most legislative proposals are referred to a standing committee without debate, Lord Bryce said: "not having been discussed, much less affirmed in principle, by the House, a bill comes before its committee with no presumption in its favor, but rather as a shivering ghost stands before Minos in the nether world. It is one of many, and for the most a sad fate is reserved."

George Matthew Adams says: "a committee is a cold storage warehouse for business", and he declares that the chief function of a legislative committee is "to sit on new legislation with all of the fervor and patience of a hen trying to hatch a granite door knob."

The selection of a Speaker of the House of Representatives often seals the fate of many legislative proposals. There are, usually, numerous candidates for the office of Speaker, most of whom ultimately trade their support to the most likely candidate in return for promises of committee chairmanships. A candidate who withdraws in favor

of the winner is sure to be handsomely rewarded in the make-up of the standing committees. The Speaker and the chairmen of the committees constitute an organization which is capable of determining the fate of most measures.

The desire of members to be on important committees gives the Speaker the opportunity to trade committee places for support upon his policy, and many a Speaker has adopted the philosophy of Speaker Cannon that the Speaker has a right to a policy of his own instead of being merely an impartial presiding officer.

In the effort of the Speaker to satisfy the demand for places on important committees the standing committees often become unwieldy. When nearly half of the members of a house are appointed to the most important committees, it is evident that real deliberation on the bills referred to them is not possible. In such cases the chairman of the committee becomes the real judge of what measures shall be reported for passage. Each bill is given to a sub-committee for study and report. The sub-committees are hand picked by the chairman and usually a word from him is sufficient to determine the report made. When the full committee meets to hear the report of any sub-committee the presumption is in favor of the sub-committee's report, and if it is accepted by the committee, the committee's report to the House is likely to be favorably received, for already the bill has the approval of nearly half of the membership.

In the smaller committees the use of sub-committees is not necessary, yet even here the chairman plays an important part. He may not call his committee together to consider bills to which he is opposed or he may not present them to the committee when it meets.

The Iowa legislative journals show that many small committees, consisting of only from 10 to 15 members, with only a few bills referred to them, have acted on none or on

only a few at the time the Sifting Committee took charge. Individual members often complain that their bills are "smothered" in the committees. On the other hand there is also common complaint that too few bills are checked at the committee stage.

There is, no doubt, a certain amount of log-rolling among the committee chairmen. A chairman of a committee usually has bills he is very anxious to have passed, and in order to get support for his own measures he hesitates to antagonize the authors of freakish or objectionable bills, especially if party or faction divisions are close. He may therefore deem it expedient to report out favorably measures of which he does not approve, hoping that they will ultimately be killed by the Sifting Committee, or he may plead with his colleague in the other house to see that such measures are killed there.

In the appointment of committees the presiding officer must make a show of fairness and he usually appoints a few members of the minority party or faction to places on the important committees; but he likes a number of "safe" committees - committees to which any doubtful bill can be referred with the assurance that no report will be made if the bill is objectionable to the organization. This is, perhaps, the chief explanation for the many legislative committees whose functions are overlapping. Committees such as those on "Code Revision", "Judiciary", and "Departmental Affairs" may be given bills of a similar nature. The same may be said of the committees on "Conservation" and "Fish and Game". Separate committees are maintained for "Public Utilities", "Railroads", "Aeronautics", and "Telegraph and Telephone", although the number of bills referred to all of them in recent sessions should not burden a single committee.

There are, no doubt, too many useless committees. In

the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-fifth General Assemblies twelve committees handled from 76 to 78 per cent of all the bills introduced in both houses. Most of the other committees were chiefly for the purpose of supplying political patronage or to satisfy the desire of the majority members to be chairman of a committee. The Iowa Senate has frequently had as many committees as there are Senators, so that each Senator could be a chairman.

No doubt many citizens have wondered why the Iowa Senate with 50 members needed two Committees on Judiciary, while the House with 108 members got along with one—until the special session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly.

The writer asked this question of a Senator of many sessions and he replied that there had been much complaint that the lawyers monopolized the Judiciary Committees and that the creation of a second Judiciary Committee not only afforded an additional chairmanship, but also permitted more laymen to serve on this important committee. He added that one of these committees is always made "safe" so that those measures which it is desired to kill or upon which favorable action is wanted can be referred to the "safe" committee, while harmless and unimportant bills can be assigned to the other.

It is frankly admitted by men of long experience in the General Assembly that if the chairman of a committee is against a bill it may not be reported to the house at all. The rule that "it shall be the duty of each committee to report back all bills on its hands within ten days after the order of reference unless longer time is granted by a vote of the house" is seldom insisted upon. Nor will a house usually force the chairman to do so if the question is put to a vote. No one wants to be forced to report bills, and inasmuch as the majority of the members in the Senate and sometimes a

majority of the Representatives in the House are also chairmen of committees, they follow the golden rule and usually support the chairman even though he does not comply with the legislative rule.

LEGISLATIVE METHODS

A careful study of the bills introduced, the number reported out by the committees, and the number left to the mercy of the Sifting Committees sometimes suggests that it is a part of the game for the leaders to bring about such a state of confusion that the average member will welcome strong arm methods to wind up the business of the Assembly and permit him to return to his own business and family fireside. This is particularly true in States where the legislators are paid a fixed sum for each regular session. When the pay is by the day, however, the members are not in a hurry to go. In this case, the leaders must decide the psychological moment to suggest the creation of a super committee to take charge of all unreported bills, except appropriation bills, in order to wind up the business of the session.

How the few, whom we generally designate as leaders, actually control the legislative product was explained to the writer by a veteran legislator with seven or eight sessions of legislative experience. The experienced and sophisticated members of the legislature do not, he said, introduce and press for passage their bills in the early days of the session. There are always many new members, especially in the lower house. They are not yet well acquainted with their colleagues, and are often suspicious that something may be put over on them. These new members take themselves seriously at first. They diligently read all the bills introduced in the first few weeks of the session and prepare to take a stand on them.

About mid-session when they are better acquainted, and perhaps disillusioned, many new members begin to recognize that their own interests are bound up with certain men who are party or faction leaders. Their zeal for reading bills subsides. It is easier to ask the party leaders to explain the significance of blind amendments and blanket repeals than it is to study them out. About this time the leaders put forward some of their bills. Toward the end of the second month the rules forbid individual members to introduce any more bills. The committees, however, may introduce bills, and committee bills as a rule go directly to the calendar.

Many members go home on Friday evening to spend the week end at home and look after their personal affairs, and so it frequently happens that on Saturday morning there is scarcely more than a quorum present, but these are the ones who know how to run the legislative machine and bills called up on Saturday morning usually encounter little opposition.

That committee bills have a better chance of passage than those of the individual members is readily seen from the following statistics. In the Forty-third General Assembly the House passed 55.4 per cent of its committee bills while only 22.8 per cent of non-committee bills were passed. In the Senate the percentages were even more convincing—58.1 per cent of the Senate committee bills were passed while only 18.8 per cent of the non-committee bills were passed. These percentages are about the same for the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth General Assemblies as well.

THE SIFTING COMMITTEE

The use of Sifting Committees in both houses of the General Assembly seems to be firmly established in Iowa. A Sifting Committee was first appointed in the House in 1860 and in the Senate in 1864. From 1892 to 1929 the Sifting

Committee in both houses was always authorized by a simple resolution near the close of the session. For the most part the members have been appointed by the presiding officers of each house. Inasmuch as it is the function of the Sifting Committee to guide the house through a calendar congested with bills — like a pilot guiding an ocean liner into New York harbor — positions on this committee are much prized.

In 1929 a Sifting Committee was provided for in the rules of the Senate of the Forty-third General Assembly — instead of by resolution — and the presiding officer (the Lieutenant Governor) was authorized to submit the proposition to the Senate at any time, and if it was agreed to he was then to appoint the committee. No motion from the floor for a Sifting Committee was allowed.

The writer interviewed the chairman of the Senate Rules Committee of the Forty-third General Assembly to ascertain why the long established custom of having the Sifting Committee authorized by resolution from the floor had been discarded in favor of the new rule. His explanation ran as follows. It had long been a custom in the Senate for the presiding officer to name as chairman of the Sifting Committee the Senator who introduced the successful resolution for the appointment of such a committee. The Republican party, which so long dominated both houses of the Iowa legislature, was at this time split into factions and each faction tried to time the psychological moment at which to offer the Sifting Committee resolution. As the chairman of the Rules Committee explained, the wrong man sometimes sprang the resolution at the right time, became the chairman of the Sifting Committee, and thus largely controlled the destiny of the unreported bills. By the new rule the President of the Senate could pick the right man for the chairmanship in advance and announce him whenever the

Senate decided that it was ready for a Sifting Committee. The Senate of the Forty-fourth General Assembly changed the rule of the Forty-third General Assembly with reference to the Sifting Committee, and provided that such committee should be appointed by the Committee on Committees when the Senate had decided that it was ready for a Sifting Committee. At this session the House adopted a rule providing for the appointment of a Sifting Committee by the Speaker, almost identical with the rule adopted by the Senate of the Forty-third General Assembly.

In the Forty-fifth General Assembly, in both the regular and special sessions, the Senate returned to the earlier practice of permitting the President of the Senate (the Lieutenant Governor) to appoint the Sifting Committee whenever it was decided to create one. The House readopted the rule of the previous session permitting the Speaker to appoint the members of the Sifting Committee whenever the House voted for such a committee.

OPPOSITION TO THE SIFTING COMMITTEE

Much abuse has been heaped upon the Sifting Committees of Iowa General Assemblies and as far back as 1912 they were referred to as "much abused". The extra session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, however, gave ample evidence that the houses feel that such an expedient is really necessary.

A few weeks before the Forty-fifth General Assembly was convened in extra session, Representative J. P. Gallagher of Iowa County, through the columns of his newspaper, the Williamsburg Journal-Tribune, vigorously attacked the use of Sifting Committees in the legislature of Iowa. The Sifting Committee, he declared, is a real menace. It is composed of nine members, and seven of the members are required to vote out a bill. The voting in the Sifting

Committee is by secret ballot, and three negative votes are sufficient to prevent the sending out of a bill.

"There are", he continued, "always interests that are naturally bitterly opposed to any legislation that might deprive them of privileges they have long enjoyed, and it is a comparatively easy matter to secure the necessary three votes required to garrote or strangle a bill, especially when secrecy marks the casting of every ballot." He designated the methods of the Sifting Committee as "Star Chamber" methods and said: "When very meritorious legislative offerings will meet their second death in the same consecutive assembly, the proof is conclusive that such an efficient genius of defeat can be traced directly to design rather than to accident." And he concluded by saying: "The 'sifting' committee must be driven out of the Iowa legislative assembly — unless the plan is to fashion it into a last line of defense for the increasing tribe of rats and racketeers."

When the General Assembly was convened in November, 1933, Mr. Gallagher, convinced that Sifting Committees could not be prohibited by law, inasmuch as the Constitution provides that each house shall determine its own rules of procedure, sought to change the rules of the House so that there would be little occasion for a Sifting Committee.

To Rule 58, which provides that "no committee shall retain possession of any bill longer than ten days, except by the consent of the house", he offered the following amendment: "The Chief Clerk shall cause a special record to be kept carrying the date on which every bill was introduced or sent to their respective committees and noting on this record the time on which the ten-day period will have expired and on this date he will give to the Speaker of the House the list containing the numbers of all the bills upon which the ten day period applies and the Speaker of the House shall then call these bills from the committees and

place them on the calendar." This amendment was adopted by a vote of 85 to 15.

To Rule 61 which defines committee procedure and reports he offered the following amendment: "A majority vote will be sufficient to send any bill out to the floor; all votes in the committee shall be record votes." The provision concerning the majority vote would have applied only to the Sifting Committee since that was the only committee requiring a two-thirds vote to place a bill on the calendar. The Journal of the House shows that this amendment was passed by a vote of 68 to 26. It was not, however, incorporated in Rule 61 of the House, but instead it was added to Rule 76 which relates to the Sifting Committee. This rule had already been amended, on recommendation of the Rules Committee, to the effect that "a bill may be taken from the Sifting Committee and placed on the calendar by a majority vote of the house."

The net results of Mr. Gallagher's opposition to the methods of the House Sifting Committee were: (1) bills might be reported out for passage by a majority instead of a two-thirds vote of the Sifting Committee; and (2) votes in the Sifting Committee were to be record votes, and not secret as heretofore. The Senate, however, adopted no such rules.

Representative Gallagher's victory in amending Rule 58 by which all bills unreported by the regular standing committees within ten days were to be placed on the calendar was, however, shortly turned into a bitter defeat. On November 23, 1933, in accordance with this rule, the Speaker recalled 21 bills from their respective committees and declared that they must, under the rule, go on the calendar. Immediately a motion signed by 69 members was introduced, proposing to amend the rules of the House by striking out the Gallagher amendment. In vain he pleaded to

extend the period to 20 days; but the new rule was repealed by a vote of 88 to 5. Three of the six members of the Rules Committee voted for the repeal. Thus ended the attempt to prevent the standing committees from holding bills referred to them until taken over by the all powerful Sifting Committee. The House promptly re-referred 20 of the 21 bills back to their respective committees.

Nor was the amendment concerning the Sifting Committee more successful. The rules of the House of Representatives of the regular session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, as well as those of the special session of the Forty-fifth, provided for both a Steering Committee and a Sifting Committee and the Speaker was authorized in both cases to submit to the House, whenever he thought it advisable, the question: "Shall a steering committee (or a sifting committee) be appointed at this time?" A majority vote in the affirmative was sufficient to permit the Speaker to appoint such a committee. The House rule authorizing the appointment of a Steering Committee provided that "The Speaker of the House may discharge the steering committee at any time after the sifting committee shall have jurisdiction."

At this point it may be worth while to note the distinction usually made between a Steering Committee and a Sifting Committee. The usual function of a Steering Committee is to take all the bills reported by the regular committees and arrange them in a calendar, or order of consideration, for the House. This, no doubt, gives the committee the power to hold back bills to which it is opposed. In the past, friction has arisen between the Steering Committee and the Sifting Committee because the former insisted that it had the right to fix the order in which bills, reported out by the Sifting Committee, should come up for consideration. The provision in the rules for discharging the Steering Com-

mittee when the Sifting Committee begins work was, no doubt, intended to avoid this difficulty.

The function of a Sifting Committee is to take charge, near the end of the session, of all bills not yet acted upon and reported by the regular committees, and to pick out those deemed worthy of consideration by the House. In determining what is worthy, the committee usually holds the fate of all bills entrusted to its care. The introduction of bills by the Sifting Committee is a comparatively new assumption of power.

On January 30, 1934 (special session), the Speaker put the question of appointing a Steering Committee to the House, and the proposition was approved by a vote of 89 ayes to 7 nays, with 14 absent or not voting.

The Speaker immediately appointed a Steering Committee of nine members — 7 Democrats and 2 Republicans. Representative Burgess of Woodbury County was the chairman.

Immediately after the Speaker had announced the personnel of the Steering Committee, on January 30, 1934, Mr. Burgess, chairman of the committee, moved: "That all bills now on the calendar and in the hands of committees be rereferred to the steering committee." This motion was amended to exempt appropriation bills and tax revision bills and was then promptly passed without a record vote. Thus the authority given to the Steering Committee was essentially the same as that usually given to the Sifting Committee. Moreover, the record in the House Journal shows that the Steering Committee acted as a Sifting Committee from the time of its appointment to the end of the special session; nor did the Speaker propose the appointment of a Sifting Committee to the House.

The Steering Committee not only took charge of the bills on the calendar and the bills in the hands of the committees, but it proceeded at once to introduce bills of its own, and between the time of its appointment and the end of the session it introduced 18 bills. Moreover, Senate bills which came to the House for consideration were promptly referred to the Steering Committee.

Within three days after the appointment of the Steering Committee (February 2, 1934), Representative Gallagher, evidently sensing the rôle to be played by the Steering Committee in the special session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, offered an amendment to House Rule 75 (providing for a Steering Committee) by adding the words: "A majority vote will be sufficient to send any bill out to the floor and all votes in the committee shall be record votes." These were the identical words which Mr. Gallagher had used to limit the power of the Sifting Committee at the beginning of the special session.

On February 14, 1934, Mr. Gallagher called up this amendment and moved its adoption. Unsuccessful attempts were made to amend the amendment and to offer a substitute for it, and when the amendment itself was voted upon, it was defeated by a vote of 35 ayes to 59 nays, with 14 absent or not voting. This vote was in no way a party vote. There were 34 Republicans in the House, but only 10 of those voting for the Gallagher amendment were of that party.

Thus, on the direct issue of amending the rules, the House refused to require the Steering Committee to follow the policy of determining by a simple majority and a record vote what bills should be brought up for consideration by the House. This was, no doubt, a high expression of confidence by the House in its Steering Committee, and probably explains why no Sifting Committee was appointed. The Steering Committee was, to all intents and purposes, a sifting committee from the time it was appointed, and ap-

parently the House was satisfied with its leadership. Not until March 9th, three days before adjournment, did the House take a bill from the Steering Committee and put it on the calendar. In this case four of the members of the Steering Committee voted in the affirmative, one in the negative, with four absent or not voting.

THE SIFTING COMMITTEE IN ACTION

In a bicameral system bills must pass both houses. Thus many bills recommended for passage by the House Sifting Committee and passing the House may still be killed in the Senate Sifting Committee when they reach that chamber. And the same may be said of the Senate bills which successfully run the gauntlet of the Senate Sifting Committee, pass the Senate, and meet an unhappy end in the House Sifting Committee. In the Forty-third General Assembly the House Sifting Committee killed 56.73 per cent of all the bills that had been referred to it. The percentage of such bills killed in the Forty-fourth General Assembly was 65.14 per cent while the percentage dropped to 60.054 per cent in the Forty-fifth General Assembly.

The percentage of House bills that have survived the House Sifting Committee and passed the House which are later killed by the Senate Sifting Committee is larger than the percentage of Senate bills killed in the House Sifting Committee. In the Forty-third General Assembly the Senate Sifting Committee killed 52.1 per cent of the measures committed to it. In the Forty-fourth General Assembly the percentage of such bills killed by the Senate Sifting Committee rose to 62.13 per cent, but dropped to 61.376 per cent in the Forty-fifth General Assembly.

Some wit once said that statistics showed chiefly the patience and industry of the compiler. They frequently put the reader to sleep. A few more figures may, however, be

submitted to show what power and influence the Sifting Committees enjoy.

In the Forty-third General Assembly, 555 bills were introduced in the House of Representatives and 520 in the Senate. Of these the House sent 161 or 29+ per cent to its own Sifting Committee. While the Senate sent 164 or 311/2 per cent to its Sifting Committee. Of the 161 House bills which went to the House Sifting Committee, nearly 79 per cent were killed by the committee, while the Senate Sifting Committee killed nearly 67 per cent of the bills which had been referred to it.

The last two regular sessions of the General Assembly have shown an increasing number of bills falling into the hands of the Sifting Committees of both houses. Nearly 42 per cent of the House bills of the Forty-fourth General Assembly went to the House Sifting Committee and about 37 per cent of the Senate bills fell into the hands of the Senate Sifting Committee. The Forty-fifth General Assembly was in control of the Democratic party for the first time since the Civil War, but no change was made in the procedure. Indeed, the Sifting Committees assumed even greater importance. Of the House bills of the Forty-fifth General Assembly 441/2 per cent went to the House Sifting Committee and 65% per cent of the Senate bills went to the Senate Sifting Committee. Thus in the three regular legislative sessions here under review, each house killed between 68 and 79 per cent of its own bills in its own Sifting Committees.

As already explained there is considerable evidence to show that it is no mere accident that the regular standing committees do not report on all of the bills referred to them. The number of bills recommended for indefinite postponement is comparatively small. When a committee of 10 or 15 members with only 3 or 5 bills referred to it makes no report on any of them the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that it did not want to report on them. To report them for indefinite postponement might offend their sponsors and their friends. The votes of these people may be needed on other bills backed or opposed by the organization. It is easier to let bills go to the Sifting Committee and be killed there in the dark alley of a secret vote. A committee chairman has a perfect alibi. He can deny that he was against a bill. Inasmuch as every member is on from six to ten committees he can plead that it has been impossible to get the committee to take action before the Sifting Committee took charge. Thus the Sifting Committee becomes the villain of the play.

A study of the personnel of the important committees shows a considerable interlocking of membership in committees relating to corporate interests. This is also true of the Sifting Committee. Of the nine members of the Sifting Committee of the House of the Forty-third General Assembly, six were members of the Committee on Insurance, five were on the Committee on Railroads, four on the Banking Committee, and three on the Committee on Public Utilities. In the House Sifting Committee (also with nine members) of the Forty-fourth General Assembly, three were on the Insurance Committee, four on Public Utilities, four on Railroads, five on Banking, and one on Telephone and Telegraph. In the House Sifting Committee of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, there were four members of the Committee on Public Utilities, three from the Banking Committee, and two from the Committee on Insurance.

In the Senate of the Forty-third General Assembly, the Sifting Committee had five members from the Committee on Banking, two from Corporations, one from Insurance, three from Public Utilities, three from Railroads, two from Telephone and Telegraph, and three from Mining. One

member served on all of these committees. In the Senate of the Forty-fourth General Assembly, four members of the Sifting Committee served on the Banking Committee, four on Railroads, three on Aeronautics, three on Insurance, and two on Public Utilities. In the Senate of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, four members of the Sifting Committee served on the Banking Committee, two on Railroads and Aircraft, three on Insurance, and four on Public Utilities.

To be a member of the Sifting Committee is one of the high honors of a legislative session. The desire of influential members to be on the Sifting Committee has increased as the power and authority of the committee has increased. It is composed of members of the majority party, with one or two minority members included.

CHANGED POSITION OF SIFTING COMMITTEE

At first the Sifting Committee was considered as a mere custodian of the bills put into its hands, and it advanced them for passage only on the order of the house. Today the Sifting Committee, after its appointment, becomes virtually a dictator for the balance of the session. It not only determines what measures shall come up for a vote but it has assumed the right to introduce bills of its own. Committee bills are of necessity introduced during the end of the session rush. There is little time to study them and they are likely to be forced through with little or no debate. It is probably true that few members really know what these bills are about, until the newspapers print them or the laws are published. The substitution of the Steering Committee for the Sifting Committee in the House during the special session of 1933-1934 appears to be a substitution of one name for another, rather than a change in policy.

The House Sifting Committee in the Forty-third General Assembly introduced 6 bills; in the Forty-fourth, 7 bills:

and in the Forty-fifth, 19 bills. The Senate Sifting Committee's record is 6 bills for the Forty-third General Assembly, 8 for the Forty-fourth, and 34 for the Forty-fifth. The percentage of these bills enacted into law has always been at least 50 per cent and in some instances it has reached 83 per cent.

CONCLUSION

State legislation has become very complex. State sanction or State prohibitions or restrictions are sought by many pressure groups. Some of these are well organized and liberally financed. Some are motivated by a sincere interest in public welfare; others represent the efforts of individuals or groups whose chief interest is self-aggrandizement. Numerous associations of local officers, usually seeking increased compensation, urge their representatives to support their measures. Attorneys demand compensation for clients who claim tort injuries because of alleged State negligence. Scores of other measures crowd the legislative calendar.

It is simply impossible for a legislative assembly to give detailed consideration to all of these demands. Therefore, in spite of some alleged abuses of the system, the practice of resorting to some such legislative expedient as the Sifting Committee seems not only justified but necessary; a few must ultimately decide what is of sufficient importance to ask for legislative sanction. These few we usually designate as the leaders, and if they abuse the trust imposed upon them, democracy finds or can find a ready remedy.

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POPULATION ADVANCE TO THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY¹ 1830–1860

According to the census of 1830 the twenty-four States of the Union contained 12,866,020 inhabitants. The five States south of the Ohio River (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana), reported 2,031,708 residents and 1,470,018 persons were living in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan Territory — 937,903 in Ohio alone. West of the Mississippi lay the State of Missouri with 140,455 people and Arkansas Territory with a population of only 30,388.² No other States had been created west of the Mississippi. The Louisiana Purchase sprawled out to the Rocky Mountains; the rights of the United States in the Oregon country were still disputed by England; Texas had not yet won her independence; and the vast wilderness between the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean was still held by Mexico.³

During the three decades between 1830 and 1860, the population of the United States increased from 12,866,020 to 31,443,321. Nine new States were admitted into the Union and continental United States expanded to its present area. Four of the new States — Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota — lay in the Upper Mississippi Val-

¹ This article is a revision and enlargement of a paper read at the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Columbia, Missouri, on April 27, 1934.

² Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. xx.

³ A good map showing the States, Territories, and cities in 1830 may be found in Paullin's Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Plate 62-B.

ley. Of the remaining five, Florida and Arkansas were the result of a normal but slow expansion in the South; Texas had been acquired in 1845 through annexation; California was the immediate outgrowth of the war with Mexico and the subsequent discovery of gold; and Oregon had gained admission because of the rapid increase in population following the controversy with Great Britain.4

The growth of population shows that the main traveled highways for westward bound settlers followed the general direction of the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. Between 1830 and 1860 the five States of the Old Northwest jumped in population from 1,470,018 to 6,926,884. Ohio gained 1,401,608 settlers, Indiana 1,007,397, Illinois 1,554,506, and Missouri showed an increase of 1,041,557. The gains in these four States almost equalled the increase in population in the whole United States from the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to the election of Jefferson in 1800. Michigan and Wisconsin, with a total population of only 31,639 in 1830, reported 1,524,994 people in 1860. Iowa and Minnesota, unknown in 1830, reported 987,391 people in 1860. These eight States, then, gained 7,345,359 residents compared with 6,735,592 for the sixteen seaboard States.5

By 1860 Ohio stood third among the States in population, Illinois ranked fourth, Indiana sixth, and Missouri eighth. Hardly less impressive were the gains of the States north of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Michigan and Wisconsin together had attracted more newcomers than Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida combined. Al-

⁴ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. xx; Paullin's Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Plate 64-A.

⁵ An excellent map of the main post roads in 1834 is contained in Paullin's Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Plate 138-K. The same volume contains maps showing the railroads in operation in 1840, 1850, and 1860. See plates 138-L, 139-A, 139-B. See also the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. xx.

though Iowa had been admitted into the Union as late as 1846, the 674,913 inhabitants within her borders in 1860 represented a greater increase than that of any Atlantic State save New York and Pennsylvania. Minnesota had achieved statehood only two years before the census of 1860, but her 172,023 inhabitants surpassed the 140,424 in Florida. The supremacy of the Upper Mississippi Valley in the matter of attracting settlers is further demonstrated by the fact that the 2,028,948 inhabitants of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota exceeded by almost four hundred thousand the total population of Arkansas, Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado.

GROWTH OF POPULATION BY SECTIONS AND STATES 1830-1860

	Atlantic	c Seaboard Stat	es	
	1830		1860	
STATE	RANK	POPULATION	RANK	POPULATION
New York	1	1,918,608	1	3,880,733
Pennsylvania	2	1,348,233	$\frac{1}{2}$	2,906,215
Virginia	3	1,211,405	5	1,596,318
North Carolina	5	737,987	12	The second secon
Massachusetts	8	610,408	7	992,622
South Carolina	9	581,185	18	1,231,066
Georgia	10	516,823	11	703,708
Maryland	11	447,040		1,057,286
Maine	12	399,455	19	687,049
New Jersey	14	•	22	628,279
Connecticut	16	320,823	21	672,035
Vermont	17	297,635	24	460,147
New Hampshire	- ·	280,652	28	315,098
Rhode Island	18	269,328	27	326,073
	23	97,199	29	174,620
Delaware	24	76,748	32	112,216
Florida	26	34,730	31	140,424
Total		9,148,299		15,883,891

⁶ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. xx.

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Upper Mississippi Valley States 1860 1830 POPULATION POPULATION RANK RANK STATE 3 2,339,511 937,903 4 Ohio 1,350,428 6 343,031 13 Indiana 1,711,951 4 20 157,445 Illinois 1,182,012 140,455 8 21 Missouri 749,113 16 Michigan and 15 775,881 31,639 Wisconsin 27 674,913 20 Iowa 172,023 30 Minnesota -----8,955,832 1,610,473 Total Lower Mississippi Valley States 1,155,684 687,917 9 6 Kentucky 1,109,801 10 7 681,904 Tennessee 964,201 309,527 13 15 Alabama 17 708,002 215,739 19 Louisiana 791,305 14 136,621 22 Mississippi 25 435,450 28 30,388 Arkansas 23604,215 Texas 5,768,658 2,062,096 Total Western States 26 379,994 California 107,206 33 Kansas 93,516 34 New Mexico 52,465 36 Oregon 37 40,273 Utah 34,277 38 Colorado 28,841 39 Nebraska 11,594 40 Washington 41 6,857 Nevada 4.837 42 Dakota ----

The census of 1860 listed 4,441,730 colored people and 27,001,491 white inhabitants in the United States. Only

Total

759,860

17,526,960 of the white people were born in the State in which they were then residing; 5,774,443 had migrated from some other part of the United States; while the remaining 4,136,175 were foreign-born. A distinguishing feature of the population trend was the preponderance of native-born whites over foreigners in the westward migrations to the Upper Mississippi Valley.⁷

MIGRATION OF AMERICANS

Visitors from foreign lands were amazed at the migratory nature of the Americans. "The American agriculturists", observed Charles Augustus Murray in 1839 "seem to have little local attachment. A New Englander or Virginian, though proud and vain of his state, will move off to Missouri or Illinois, and leave the home of his childhood without any visible effort or symptom of regret, if by so doing he can make ten dollars where he before made eight. I have seen such repeated instances of this that I cannot help considering it a national feature."

"The Americans are such locomotives themselves", said Captain Frederick Marryat, "that it is useless to attempt the incognito in any part except the west side of the Mississippi, or the Rocky Mountains. Once known at New York, and you are known every where, for in every place you will meet with some one whom you have met walking in Broadway."

The "passion for turning up new soils and clearing the wilderness" appeared to increase with years. Basil Hall observed very little individual regard for "particular spots". "There is a strong love of country," Hall ad-

⁷ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, pp. ix, xxix, xxxiii.

⁸ Murray's Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, § 1836, Vol. I, p. 148.

⁹ Marryat's A Diary in America, Vol. I, pp. 142, 143.

mitted, "but this is quite a different affair, as it seems to be entirely unconnected with any permanent fondness for one spot more than another."

Nor did this tendency to migrate go unnoticed by Americans. "What a restless, but enterprising spirit characterizes the American people!" exclaimed an editor of the forties. "They are ever ready to follow to the world's end the bright promises of ambition, or wealth, or charity.""

In 1843 James K. Paulding described this migratory nature of the Americans in the following words: "Our people have more of the locomotive principle than any other not excepting the Israelites and Arabs. Our forefathers wandered here and their posterity have been wandering ever since. But the people of the 'Great West' beat all the rest together. I hardly met a man, or indeed a woman who had not traveled from Dan to Beersheba, and back again, and 'settled', as they are pleased to term it, in half a dozen places, some hundreds, perhaps thousands, of miles distant from each other."

This restless spirit is best observed by scrutinizing statistics of the interstate migrations of Americans. The eight States of the Upper Mississippi Valley received the lion's share of the American settlers who moved from the State of their birth between 1830 and 1860. Iowa acquired 376,081 new American settlers compared with 367,708 for the six New England States. The six Middle Atlantic States received only 672,785 persons born in other States compared with the 676,250 who had poured into Illinois alone. Missouri counted 428,222 native Americans from other States within her borders or more than double the number seeking new homes in the four South Atlantic

¹⁰ Hall's Travels in the United States, Vol. I, pp. 146, 147.

¹¹ Niles' National Register, Vol. 68, June 21, 1845, p. 247.

¹² Paulding's The Mississippi in Grahame's Magazine, Vol. XXII, p. 218.

States. The 303,582 new settlers tabulated in Michigan exceeded the combined total of such settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. Wisconsin secured a larger influx of native Americans than did Texas — a State which led all the Gulf States in popularity, after it became part of the United States. Measured broadly, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and the five States of the Old Northwest had received 3,046,903 of the total of 5,774,443 persons in the United States, who in 1860 reported having been born in the country but outside the State of their residence.¹³

NATIVITY OF RESIDENTS OF VARIOUS STATES IN 1860

	TESIDENIS OF	VARIOUS STATES	IN 1860
	STATE	ANOTHER	FOREIGN
20.	OF RESIDENC	E STATE	COUNTRY
Maine	560,030	30,636	37,453
New Hampshire	256,982	48,032	20,938
Vermont	239,087	43,169	32,743
Massachusetts	805,546	163,637	260,114
Rhode Island	109,965	27,161	37,39 1
Connecticut	323,772	55,073	80,696
	2,295,382	367,708	469,338
New York	2,602,460	275,164	998,640
New Jersey	469,015	79,385	122,790
Pennsylvania	2,280,004	193,022	430,505
Delaware	84,869	16,179	9,165
Maryland	481,061	40,694	77,536
Virginia	1,001,710	68,341	35,058
	6,919,119	672,785	1,673,694
North Carolina	634,220	23,845	3,299
South Carolina	276,868	- 14,366	9,986
Georgia	475,496	107,604	11,671
Florida	35,602	38,549	3,309
	1,422,186	184,364	28,265

¹³ Eighth Consus of the United States, 1860, Population, p. xxxiii.

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Wanter alam	721,570	148,232	59,799
Kentucky Tennessee	660,589	151,399	21,226
	320,026	196,089	12,352
Alabama	195,806	145,239	8,558
Mississippi	214,294	73,722	81,029
Louisiana	•	•	•
Texas	153,043	224,345	$43,422 \\ 3,741$
Arkansas	124,043	195,835	3,141
	2,389,371	1,134,861	230,127
Ohio	1,529,560	476,966	328,254
Indiana	774,721	455,719	118,184
Illinois	706,925	$676,\!250$	324,643
Michigan	294,828	303,582	149,092
Wisconsin	247,177	250,410	276,927
	3,553,211	2,162,927	1,197,100
Missouri	475,246	428,222	160,541
Iowa	191,148	376,081	106,081
Minnesota	34,305	78,863	58,728
	700,699	883,166	325,350
Kansas	10,997	82,562	12,691
Nebraska	$3,\!463$	18,973	6,351
Colorado	107	31,206	$2,\!666$
Dakota	1,586	1,477	1,774
Utah	15,968	11,470	12,754
Nevada	177	4,546	2,064
New Mexico	84,487	$2,\!155$	6,723
Washington	2,040	6,374	3,144
California	77,707	154,307	146,528
	196,532	313,070	194,695
Total	17,527,069	5,774,434	4,136,17514

The exodus of native sons and daughters from the seaboard States far exceeded the replacements from other

¹⁴ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. xxxiii.

States. The census of 1860 showed that Vermont had received 43,169 newcomers and sent forth 174,765, most of whom went to New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Illinois. A popular song for migrating New Englanders ran as follows:

Come, all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot, Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot, And leave behind the village where Pa and Ma do stay, Come follow me, and settle in Michigania,—
Yea, yea, in Michigania. Yea, yea, in Michigania.

New York, the Empire State, attracted 275,164 people from other States, but lost 867,032, principally to Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Pennsylvania served as a magnet for 193,022 but 582,512 natives of the Keystone State migrated to other States — Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa securing the bulk of them. To Virginia went 68,341 Americans born in other States but the Old Dominion lost 399,700 people through migration, chiefly to Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky, and Indiana.¹⁶

A bird's-eye view of this movement may be obtained from the musty newspaper files of this period. Since Illinois attracted the largest number of settlers let us examine the influx into that State. "The rapid tide of emigration—the rushing flood of population that is constantly pouring in upon our Western borders, has been to us, an oft-told tale", wrote the editor in the initial issue of Chicago's first newspaper. "To it we have never given full faith and credit. We have supposed it but the fruit of an overheated brain, or the offspring of uncontrolled exaggeration." Suddenly the "reality" of the westward movement was impressed upon this "Doubting Thomas". "Chicago, nay the very spot of ground where we are now writing," he

¹⁵ Mathews's The Expansion of New England, p. 227.

¹⁶ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, pp. xxxiii-xxxv.

wrote, "a few months since was the abode of the savage; and where are now seen a long line of habitations for white men, a short time ago was unoccupied save by the wigwam of the Indian. The change has been wrought by magic. More than eight hundred souls may now be found within the limits that within a few short months since included less than one tenth of that number." Seven years later Chicago counted 4479 people within its limits; in 1860 the census revealed 108,206.17

The editor of another Illinois newspaper, the Sangamo Journal, was equally impressed by the rush of emigrants into Illinois in 1833. "Emigrants are coming by thousands into Illinois, and from all quarters of the Union .-- On Friday last fifteen large wagons, from St. Lawrence County, N. York, loaded with emigrants, arrived in our village, and drove up in front of the market house, in grand style .--These emigrants had been about ten weeks on the journey, and enjoyed good health during the time. They design to settle in Sangamo County — to which we bid them welcome. - A few days previous a company of emigrants from Vermont for Green County, passed thro' this place. Our northern counties are daily receiving inhabitants from New York, Ohio, and the Eastern States. Kentucky is pouring out her population upon us — which generally passes over to the military tract. Tennessee also contributes largely to the current of emigration; and even some of the wandering sons of Illinois, who were driven off to the Paradise of Arkansaw by a certain cold winter, are bending their weary steps back to the sucker land. We calculate that Illinois will increase her number of inhabitants the present season by emigration between 20 and 30,000."18

¹⁷ Chicago Democrat, November 26, 1833; The Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year-Book for 1927, pp. 270, 271.

¹⁸ Quoted in the Chicago Democrat, November 26, 1833.

A Kentucky paper chronicled the passing of large numbers over the Ohio River into Illinois in 1833. "The number of persons that daily pass thro' this place, on their way to the State of Illinois, is immense. Many of these people seem to be much more wealthy and respectable, than those we have observed moving to that State in former years. A company passed, in which were five large well built and heavily laden wagons, and six neat two horse carriages, filled with females. The fertile lands of Illinois must invite men of enterprize and capital; and e'er long we expect that this young State will take a conspicuous rank among her sisters of the Union." A few years later over two hundred wagons passed through Vevay, Indiana, from Kentucky "all full of emigrants, discouraged from continuing among these lawless people."

Emigrant guides and books of travel yield similar pictures. Captain Marryat was amazed at the stream of emigration flowing from North Carolina into Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri during the thirties. "Every hour", he declared, "you meet with a caravan of emigrants from that sterile but healthy state. Every night the banks of the Ohio are lighted up with their fires, where they have bivouacked previously to crossing the river; but they are not like the poor German or Irish settlers; they are well prepared, and have nothing to do, apparently, but to sit down upon their land. These caravans consist of two or three covered waggons, full of women and children, furniture, and other necessaries, each drawn by a team of horses; brood mares, with foals by their sides, following; half a dozen or more cows, flanked on each side by the men, with their long rifles on their shoulders; sometimes a boy or two, or a half-grown girl on horseback. Occasionally

¹⁹ Green River (Hopkinsville, Kentucky) Advocate, quoted in the Chicago Democrat, November 26, 1833; Lindley's Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. I), p. 523.

they wear an appearance of more refinement and cultivation, as well as wealth, the principals travelling in a sort of worn-out old carriage, the remains of the competence of former days."²⁰

It was such scenes that caused the covered wagon to become symbolic of the westward movement of the American frontiersmen. Migrants from New York and the New England States followed one of the roads intersecting the main post road around the Great Lakes. By the mid-thirties Buffalo, Dunkirk, Erie, Cleveland, Detroit, Niles, and Chicago were definite and important points on this route to northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and to Michigan, Wisconsin, and the Black Hawk Purchase in what is now the State of Iowa.

The "survey and marking" of the roads between these cities, however, did not improve their usefulness as highways of immigration. Even the special acts of State legislatures dubbing them "State roads" brought little consolation to the emigrant deeply mired in one of the many holes en route. After leaving Detroit behind, Charles Latrobe found much of the "dreary road" to Chicago without the "possibility of shelter" of any kind.²¹

Another traveler, Charles F. Hoffman, followed Latrobe in a four-horse wagon through the land of a "long-haired race" called "Hooshiers" whom he found "much more civilized" than he had been led to expect. Hoffman would have found travel little better farther south, for the Cumberland Road was not completed to Columbus, Ohio,

²⁰ Marryat's A Diary in America, Vol. II, pp. 207, 208.

²¹ Baird's View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West, pp. 349-352; Latrobe's The Rambler in North America, Vol. II, pp. 183-201; Paullin's Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Plate 138-K; Petersen's To the Land of Black Hawk in The Palimpsest, Vol. XIV, pp. 53-68.

²² Hoffman's A Winter in the West, Vol. I, pp. 188-190.

until 1833, and more than a decade was to pass before that great thoroughfare was completed through Illinois.²³

The following quotation concerning the Cumberland or National Road may be of interest here.

First authorized in 1806 in fulfillment of a promise made four years before to the new born state of Ohio, and begun in 1811, this, our first national highway, had pressed its way west through the beautiful Cumberland gateway leading from the Potomac over Savage mountain to Pine run, Red hill, and the top of Negro mountain, at an elevation of 2,328 feet, the highest point, thence across the Youghiogheny river at Somerfield, through Great Meadows, by Braddock's grave, and by Laurel Ridge summit to Uniontown, thence almost due west to Brownsville on the Monongahela, and finally to Wheeling on the Ohio by way of Washington, Pennsylvania. For a generation thereafter this route was the great Appian Way over which passed the life-giving and sustaining forces of the nation. It was selected as a compromise between the long-standing rival claims of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to the trade of the West. When completed it was at once tapped by numerous lateral roads, notably that from Baltimore to Cumberland. Stage-coach and freight lines were established thereon, more primitive vehicles giving way first to those of Conestoga and finally to those of Concord type; its overland transportation companies became known far and wide, chief among them being the National, the Good Intent, the Pioneer, and the June Bug; and its local drivers, "Red" Bunting, "Devil Bill" Patterson, and others became better and, in some instances, more favorably known, than their passengers, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Thomas Hart Benton, and others scarcely less distinguished westerners who used this road in going to and from the national capitol and the eastern markets.24

The National Road, together with the web of State and local highways which served as feeders to this great Appian Way through the Ohio Valley, witnessed the conquest of

²³ Hulbert's The Cumberland Road (Historic Highways of America, Vol. X), pp. 72-90.

²⁴ Ambler's Transportation in the Ohio Valley, pp. 136, 137.

the Upper Mississippi Valley by the covered wagon. Late in the fall of 1851 the editor of the Indianapolis Journal called attention to the throngs of emigrants constantly moving westward over this highway. "We think it reasonable to say", he declared, "that an average of three hundred wagons per week have passed thro for the past three or four weeks. At an average of four persons to the wagon, we judge 5000 persons will have passed through Indianapolis by the close of the season."25

Not infrequently emigrants came by covered wagon to some port like Buffalo or Pittsburgh and then contracted for passage on a Great Lakes steamer or Ohio River craft. James Hall, the editor of the Illinois Monthly Magazine, urged emigrants to travel by steamboat, particularly if they contemplated coming west in the spring. "The streams are then swollen. The largest rivers rise from thirty to fifty feet above the low water mark; rocks, snags, sawyers, and sandbars, those formidable obstacles to navigation, are now all buried far below the surface; the steamboat glides without interruption from port to port, ascends even the smallest rivers, and finds her way to places far distant from the ordinary channels of navigation. Business is now active; the number of boats are increased, to meet the demand for transportation; and the traveller by water meets with no delay; while the hapless wight, who bestrides an unlucky nag, is wading through ponds and quagmires, enjoying the delights of log bridges and wooden causeways, and vainly invoking the name of M'Adam, as he plunges deeper and deeper into mire and misfortune."26

James Baird observed that a family of five or six could go on the deck of a Great Lakes steamer in a comfortable

²⁵ Quoted in the Des Moines Valley (Keokuk) Whig, November 6, 1851.

²⁶ Quoted in Baird's View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West, pp. 359, 360.

manner during the summer for twenty dollars. A Maryland family of fifteen reached Wheeling after a 300 mile journey in their four-horse wagon at a total cost of seventy-five dollars. The master of the only steamboat then in port demanded \$250 for transporting the wagon, baggage, and horses, and the seven cabin and eight deck passengers to St. Louis. The head of the family demurred, waited three days, and finally secured passage for \$160. Instead of a month's journey overland he was able to reach St. Louis in a week.²⁷

Edmund Flagg watched with deep interest while the steamboat discharged emigrant families along the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. A party of emigrants from the State of Vermont were "landed near the mouth of the Wabash, one of whom was a pretty, delicate female, with an infant boy in her arms. They had been deck-passengers, and we had seen none of them before; yet their situation could not but excite interest in their welfare. Poor woman! thought I, as our boat left them gazing anxiously after us from the inhospitable bank, little do you dream of the trials and privations to which your destiny conducts, and the hours of bitter retrospection which are to come over your spirit like a blight, as, from these cheerless solitudes, you cast back many a lingering thought to your dear, distant home in New-England; whose very mountain-crags and fierce storms of winter, harsh and unwelcome though they might seem to the stranger, were yet pleasant to you".

A little farther on this compassionate pilgrim watched the boat discharge another group at a "desolate-looking spot" upon the Missouri shore. Flagg noted "men, women, and little ones, with slaves, household stuff, pots, kettles, dogs, implements of husbandry, and all the paraphernalia

²⁷ Hall's The West: Its Commerce and Navigation, pp. 146-148; Baird's View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West, p. 352.

of the backwood's farm heaped up promiscuously in a heterogeneous mass among the undergrowth beneath the lofty trees."²⁸ Prior to 1850, an emigrant who was not blessed with considerable funds was more likely to jolt his family westward over the rough roads of the interior.

The settlement of Wisconsin, because of its position on Lake Michigan, is perhaps an exception to the rule of overland travel by Yankees. In 1845 the movement to this remote territory was described by an eastern editor as "rapid beyond all precedent". "There are", he said, "whole sections of country which are now thickly settled, that a few months ago were entirely uninhabited. This applies to the Northern as well as to the Southern counties. The emigration comes principally by way of the Lakes, from the northern and eastern States."29 New York contributed 120,637 settlers to Wisconsin, or almost one-half the total. Ohio ranked second with 24,301, Pennsylvania third with 21,043, and Vermont fourth with 19,184. The five remaining New England States contributed 35,154 settlers to Wisconsin. It is significant that the three States contributing the largest numbers border on Lake Erie.30

The overland trek of the covered wagon continued throughout the forties and fifties. "Hundreds of muslin-covered wagons," declared the editor of the *Rock Islander* in 1855, "bearing wives and children, and household goods, and driven by stalwart men, seeking a new home in the mighty West, cross the Mississippi at this point weekly. It is a tide which knows no ebb, but still keeps flowing, ever flowing, onward toward the rich prairies of Nebraska and the setting sun." ³¹

²⁸ Flagg's The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains, Vol. I, pp. 54, 55.

²⁹ Niles' National Register, Vol. 68, August 9, 1845, p. 368.

³⁰ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. 544.

³¹ Quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 63.

The fording of streams and creeks was of almost daily occurrence and ferry operators were kept busy from dawn to dusk. During a single month in 1854 fully 1743 wagons passed a point beyond Peoria, Illinois, all bound for Iowa.³² The following year a westward bound immigrant watched forty-nine wagons from Michigan "bound for Iowa" cross an Illinois stream. This man had passed "oceans of wagons" and declared it was a "common occurrence to see twenty or thirty of these form an encampment at night". An Illinois editor viewed with no little alarm, perhaps, the departure of twenty-five wagons from a "single town in Northern Illinois" across the Mississippi River into Iowa.³³

Throughout the fifties the ferries were busy day and night transporting the emigrants across the Mississippi. St. Louis and Hannibal in Missouri, Alton and Quincy in Illinois, Keokuk, Fort Madison, Burlington, Davenport, Dubuque, and McGregor in Iowa, and LaCrosse, Winona, and Saint Paul farther upstream were favorite crossings. The ferry formed an important segment in facilitating the movement of Yankee pioneers westward. A few samples of their activity may be given.

A ferry had served the needs of Burlington since the opening of the Black Hawk Purchase in 1833. During the first two weeks of October, 1846, a total of 582 wagons were ferried across the Mississippi River at this place. During the year 1854 the steam ferry at this point was kept "constantly in motion from morning till night and frequently till midnight". According to an eyewitness the opposite (Illinois) bank was covered every evening with the "tents,

³² From the Iowa City Reporter, quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 55.

³³ Rock Island News, May 26, 1855, quoted in the Muscatine Journal, May 30, 1855.

³⁴ Niles' National Register, Vol. 71, January 2, 1847, p. 281.

wagons and cattle" of emigrants waiting to be ferried across to Iowa.35

During 1855 the Burlington Telegraph chronicled the passage of immigrant teams through that city at the rate of six or seven hundred a day. "We have these facts from the ferry folks", the editor declared, "who keep a sort of running register. About one team in a hundred is labelled 'Nebraska'; all the rest are marked 'Iowa'." 186

Late in the fall of 1855 a Muscatine editor designated Iowa as the "Canaan for the children of the eastern and middle states." Scores of covered wagons were noted lining the Illinois bank of the Mississippi awaiting the ferry as it puffed "to and fro, carrying westward at every trip five wagons" all bound for the Hawkeye State.³⁷

Perhaps no point exceeded Davenport in activity. "Our ferry is busy all hours in passing over the large canvasbacked wagons, densely populated with becoming Iowaians", observed the *Davenport Commercial* in 1854. "An army of mechanics have added 300 buildings to this city during the past season, yet every nook and corner of them are engaged before they are finished; but our hospitable citizens will not allow any to suffer for want of shelter. In several instances the citizens have, like true aborigines, withdrawn to close quarters, and given their parlors to those who have come to make their homes among us and were unable to find dwellings. There is not a vacant dwelling or business room in the city." 38

The following year the Davenport levee presented an "unusually stirring appearance" to an eye-witness on the

³⁵ From the Burlington Telegraph, quoted in the Muscatine Journal, October 11, 1854.

³⁶ Quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 57.

³⁷ Muscatine Journal, October 27, 1855.

³⁸ Quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, pp. 56, 57.

opposite shore. "We counted no less than twenty-five white-tented wagons ranged round near the ferry, while some twenty farm wagons stood here and there among a small sea of reposing cattle. All the way up Brady street was a row of these wheeled tents while some half dozen were visible on the steamer Davenport, just then crossing the river. And all these, so far as we could learn, were bound for Iowa."

To the north, the rush of land seekers westward caused the Dubuque Tribune to exclaim: "Daily—yes, hourly—immigrants are arriving in this and neighboring counties from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. All are in raptures at the lovely sights which here greet their gaze; and they with one accord yield the palm to Western Iowa for lovely prairies, beautiful groves of timber, and meandering streams of water." Such items when printed in papers back east, although sometimes rather exaggerated, must have served as bait for those hesitating as to whether or not they should follow Horace Greeley's advice—"Go West!"

Of this rush of settlers into northern Iowa we have the following account from the *Dubuque Reporter*:

Never before, in the history of this northwestern region of the United States, has there been a more gratifying spectacle than that now presented to those who take an interest in its progress and welfare. Viewing the almost countless throng of immigrants that crowd our streets, and learning that a similar scene is visible at every other point along the Mississippi border of Iowa, the spectator is naturally led to infer that a general exodus is taking place in the Eastern States of the Union, as well as in those that, but a few years ago, were denominated the West.

Day by day the endless procession moves on - a mighty army of

³⁰ Rock Island News, May 26, 1855, quoted in the Muscatine Journal, May 30, 1855.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 57.

invasion, which, were its objects other than peace, and a holy, fraternal, cordial league with its predecessors, their joint aim to conquer this fair and alluring domain from the wild dominion of nature would strike terror into the boldest hearts. They come by hundreds and thousands from the hills and valleys of New England, bringing with them that same untiring, indomitable energy and perseverance, that have made their native States the admiration of the world, and whose influence is felt wherever enterprise has a votary or commerce spreads a sail; with intellects sharpened to the keenest edge, and brawny arms to execute the firm resolves of their iron will, and gathering fresh accessions, as they sweep across the intermediate country, from the no less thrifty and hardy population of New York, Ohio, and Indiana. Tarrying no longer amongst us than is necessary for them to select their future home, away they hie to the capacious and inviting plains, that spread themselves interminably, ready to yield, almost without preparation, their rich latent treasures.

Soon will be seen innumerable the farmer's comfortable abode, and the frequent thriving village, with its "people's college," as its highest worldly pride, and close at hand the house of God, with spire pointing to heaven, as if to remind the worshippers of the source to which they are indebted for all the store of blessings they enjoy. And soon, too, in the wake of such a mighty rush and all its soul-swelling consequences, will follow the laying out and construction of those great works that will link us to the wide-spread members of our confederacy, over which the iron horse, more terrible in the fierceness of his strength than the war-steed of Job, will snort his triumphant ha, ha! as he bounds along in his tireless race. Science, in turn, will rear her loftiest fanes, and plant deep in the hearts of her disciples the seeds of a deathless devotion to the institutions of our common country.⁴¹

The same bustle and activity was noted in the interior counties of Iowa. Oskaloosa was overwhelmed with the influx of emigrants. "Our town is almost constantly thronged with mover's wagons and herds of cattle", exclaimed a resident of that flourishing little town in 1851.⁴² Three years

⁴¹ Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, pp. 55-57.

⁴² Des Moines Valley (Keokuk) Whig, May 15, 1851.

later the Oskaloosa Times noted the passing of covered wagons from "early morning till night-fall" and estimated at least a thousand persons passing through Oskaloosa every week. In 1851 the editor of the Fort Des Moines Journal declared immigration to western Iowa was "just commencing" and noted the "large share" of immigrants entering Madison, Dallas, Boone, and Warren counties. Jasper County was settling with "unprecedented rapidity" and extensive settlements were being made a hundred miles north and west of Fort Des Moines. The Galena [Illinois] Advertiser expressed surprise at the rapidity with which northern Iowa was increasing in population. "Allamakee and Winneshiek counties", it prophesied, "are destined to become among the most wealthy in the state."

Some of these settlers had banded together into emigrant companies, hoping by lumping their resources to eliminate some of the hardships encountered by the lone frontiersman. Such a company was formed in Transboro, New Jersey, for the purpose of raising funds to enable fifty families to proceed to Iowa. Each family was required to pay three hundred dollars into the general treasury. Of the fifteen thousand dollars thus raised, twelve hundred and fifty dollars was allowed for transportation to Iowa. The company intended to purchase five thousand acres of government land and work it in common the first year, or until houses were built to accommodate all. Then the land was to be equally divided, each family to receive one hundred acres.⁴⁶

In 1856 an advance agent for the Stafford Western Emi-

⁴³ Quoted in Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 56.

⁴⁴ Quoted in the Des Moines Valley (Keokuk) Whig, May 22, 1851.

⁴⁵ Quoted in the Des Moines Valley (Keokuk) Whig, October 30, 1851.

⁴⁶ Muscatine Journal, March 3, 1854.

gration Company of Massachusetts arrived in Muscatine to seek the "best points" for his company. This organization was composed of 850 persons "equipped with sawmills, carpenter tools and farming implements of all kinds, fully prepared to establish themselves and build up a town in a few weeks." These emigrants were well organized, "having a constitution and rules of business for carrying on all branches peculiar to the West. We can readily imagine", commented the *Muscatine Journal* of May 23, 1856, "the purchase of a large tract of land and the immediate erection of dwelling houses and a village of 850 inhabitants springing into existence as by magic."

Thoughtful observers were not slow to grasp the significance of this westward trend of population into the Upper Mississippi Valley. Henry Clay would, perhaps, have felt genuine concern for his great Compromise of 1850 had he discussed the westward movement with a certain Iowa editor. After pointing out that the movement to the Hawkeye State was not made up of foreigners but of "the steady, well educated and industrious farmers of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other northern states", the Muscatine Democratic Enquirer concluded:

From the beginning of the century the middle and the northern states have perverted the legislation to selfish ends. It will not be long, thank providence, ere the Valley of the Mississippi—the garden spot of the world—will wield a controlling influence in national affairs. Connected as the states are by fine navigable streams and social and political ties, and extending through several degrees of latitude, they will when the day of their predominance comes, put an end to that system of local and partial legislation which has done more to weaken the bond of union and obliterate the reverence of the people for the constitution, than all other causes combined.⁴⁷

Since Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa formed the apex of **Muscatine Democratic Enquirer, July 19, 1851.

this surging mass of native Americans an analysis of their native American population may prove interesting. Of Illinois's 1,387,308 American-born population, 706,925 were born within the borders of that State. Ohio contributed 131,887 persons born within her borders, New York 121,508, Pennsylvania 83,625, Indiana 62,010, Kentucky 60,193, Tennessee 39,012, Virginia 32,978, Massachusetts 19,053, Vermont 18,253, and New Jersey 15,474. The remaining States and Territories contributed smaller numbers ranging from 31 for Oregon to 13,597 for North Carolina.⁴⁸

Missouri, on the other hand, clearly revealed the influence of the southern States: Kentucky sent 99,814, Tennessee 73,594, and Virginia 53,957. The next three States in the order of their contributions were Ohio with 35,389, Indiana with 30,463, and Illinois with 30,138. North Carolina sent 20,259 to Missouri, Pennsylvania 17,929, and New York 14,585. Fully 475,246 of Missouri's 906,540 native Americans were born within that State.

North of Missouri lay Iowa with its rich prairie lands beckoning to the hardy northerners. The first free State in the Louisiana Purchase, Iowa attracted 99,240 from Ohio, 57,555 Hoosiers, 52,156 Pennsylvanians, and 46,053 from New York. Only 26,696 of those who crossed the Mississippi into Iowa were born in Illinois. Virginia contributed 17,944, and Kentucky 13,204. The six New England States sent a total of 25,040, much less than would normally be expected. Undoubtedly many who hailed from the States of the Old Northwest were descendants of New Englanders. Of the remaining States, Oregon received recognition for the smallest contribution with 13, and Missouri the most with 5931. The comparative youth of the Hawkeye State is attested by the fact that only 191,148 of Iowa's 674,913

⁴⁸ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. 104.

⁴⁹ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. 301.

population in 1860 were born within the borders of the State; 377,684 had been born in the United States but outside Iowa; and 106,081 were foreign-born.

NATIVITY OF IOWA POPULATION IN 186050

Born in the United	States	Born in Foreign	Countries
Alabama	214	Asia	27
Arkansas	150	Africa	9
California	127	Australia	13
Connecticut	4,084	Belgium	91
Delaware	850	British America	8,313
Florida	26	Denmark	661
Georgia	262	England	11,522
Illinois	26,696	France	2,421
Indiana	57,555	German States	
IOWA	191,14 8	Austria	2,709
Kansas	83	Bavaria	3,150
Kentucky	13,204	\mathbf{Baden}	2,701
Louisiana	281	Hesse	2,017
Maine	3,151	Nassau	210
Maryland	4,663	Prussia	7,797
Massachusetts	6,214	Wurtemberg	1,581
Michigan	4,393	Unspecified	18,390
Minnesota	432	Great Britain	23
Mississippi	130	Greece	1
Missouri	5,931	Holland	2,615
New Hampshire	3,287	Ireland	28,072
New Jersey	4,114	\mathbf{Italy}	26
New York	46,053	Mexico	6
North Carolina	4,690	Norway	5,688
Ohio	99,240	Portugal	3
Oregon	13	Poland	100
Pennsylvania	52,156	Pacific Islands	10
Rhode Island	723	Russia	40
South Carolina	554	Scotland	2,895
Tennessee	5,773	Spain	13
Texas	59	Sweden	1,465
Vermont	7,581	Sardinia	4

⁵⁰ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, p. 156.

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Virginia	17,944	Switzerland	2,519
Wisconsin	5,121	South America	10
District of Columbia	125	Turkey	2
Territories	202	West Indies	60
At sea	105	Wales	913
Not stated	1,498	Other foreign countries	4
		_	
Total native	568,832	Total foreign 1	06,081
Total	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	••••••	74,913

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS

Somewhat less numerous but fully as colorful was the migration of foreigners. The census of 1860 revealed 1,673,694 of the 4,136,175 foreign-born in the United States residing in the six Middle Atlantic States. Seven-eighths of these were in New York and Pennsylvania where lay the great ports of New York and Philadelphia, through which most of the foreigners passed. The port of Boston exerted the same influence for the Bay State. Massachusetts attracted 260,114 of the 469,338 foreigners who had settled in the New England States. Thus, the twelve North Atlantic States retained fully one-half of the foreign immigrants. These usually were of the poorer class who arrived penniless and promptly availed themselves of the many jobs open to artisans, unskilled laborers, and servants. Later they might have enough saved to continue their migration westward and purchase a tract of cheap government land for their very own.51

The remainder of the immigrants moved westward—serving as laborers in canal and railroad construction; finding employment in the rapidly sprouting cities of the West; or squatting on the rich lands of the interior. During the late thirties Captain Frederick Marryat noted the small wooden shacks of newly arrived Irish workmen on

⁵¹ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. li.

the Erie Canal. A family dwelt in one of these "dog-kennels" that measured fourteen feet by ten. According to Marryat there was but "one bed, on which slept the man, his wife, and family. Above the bed were some planks" where seven laborers slept "without any mattress, or even straw, to lie upon. . . . I looked for the pig, and there he was, sure enough, under the bed."⁵²

At Pittsburgh during the thirties Charles Augustus Murray was ever aware of the "proudly eminent" voice of the Irish whether raised in "fun, bargain, or wrath!" Murray also saw many "broad-faced and broad-sterned, fair-haired butchers" whose nationality he could easily guess without looking at the boards over their stalls bearing such names as Schmidt, Reinhardt, and Hermann.⁵³

Immigrants came from England, Scotland, and Wales; from France and Switzerland; from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland; and from two score countries besides. But the Irish and Germans predominated. In 1860 Pittsburgh contained 30,000 Americans, 9297 Irish, 6049 Germans, and a scattering of others. Cincinnati was almost equally divided between native and foreign-born, the Germans outnumbering the Irish more than two to one. St. Louis contained 61,390 Americans and 96,086 foreigners, 50,510 of the latter being German. In both Chicago and Milwaukee the foreign-born exceeded the native-born, with Germans predominating. Well might Captain Marryat remark that cities grew up in the United States to more importance in ten years than they did in Europe in a century.⁵⁴

The westward flow of foreign emigrants is attested by

⁵² Marryat's A Diary in America, Vol. I, pp. 123, 124.

⁵³ Murray's Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, & 1836, Vol. I, p. 197.

⁵⁴ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, pp. li-lviii; Marryat's A Diary in America, Vol. I, p. 17.

the 1,197,100 found in the five States of the Old Northwest in 1860. "Do not the Alleghany Mountains and Niagara stand as giant watchers at its entrance, to open the portals of that new garden of Paradise, the latest home of the human race?" queried Fredrika Bremer in 1853. "The people of Europe pour in through the cities of the eastern coast. Those are the portals of the outer court; but the West is the garden where the rivers carry along with them gold, and where stands the tree of Life and of Death." "55

The census of 1860 showed Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota with 325,350 foreign-born within their borders. Minnesota attracted twice as many foreigners as the four South Atlantic States; Iowa's accretions almost equalled those of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee combined; Missouri gained more than the total of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The popularity of these eight States of the Upper Mississippi Valley is clearly demonstrated by the heavy influx of both foreign and native American emigrants.⁵⁶

Since we have already felt the pulse of overland migration let us trace briefly four other highways—the St. Lawrence River, the Erie Canal, the Pennsylvania Canal, and the Mississippi River.

The St. Lawrence was the most northerly migration trail to the Mississippi. From Quebec an emigrant might reach Montreal in fourteen hours at a cost of five shillings. An additional ten shillings carried him to Kingston. Passage over Lake Ontario in a regular mail line steamer to Toronto or Hamilton could be procured for around twenty-two shillings. Emigrants were warned to drink "sparingly" of the waters of the St. Lawrence since they

⁵⁵ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. li; Bremer's The Homes of the New World, Vol. I, pp. 554, 555.

⁵⁶ Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, p. 11.

had a "strong tendency to produce bowel complaints in strangers".⁵⁷

The crest of the huge emigrant wave swept up the St. Lawrence during the year 1847 when 74,408 arrivals were chronicled at the ports of Quebec and Montreal. It was estimated that fully one-fourth of those who adopted this route died of ship fever while crossing the ocean or in passing up the St. Lawrence. Niles' National Register had this account of the tragic events in 1847: "The poor creatures die as they pass up the river St. Lawrence; even such as appear healthy when they leave Quebec, often expire on their passage. Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, the various towns on the Bay of Quinte, and other towns with which there is regular communication, are filled with the sick and dying." On August 22, 1847, there were 2048 patients on Grosse Island alone. During the preceding week 288 had died and the number of deaths in the hospital and tents since the opening of the season totalled 2126.58

Many would-be settlers, however, traveled this route to reach the western States. At Buffalo they helped swell the endless stream flowing westward through the Erie Canal. "Day after day the train on the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Railroad has come in, stretched to the length of a monstrous serpent, and filled so full of German emigrants, that it seems like cruelty to compel a single engine to drag such enormous loads in such excessively hot weather. We learn that they choose the route, via Montreal, to evade the somewhat onerous requirements of the port laws and regulations at New York. From Montreal they come up through Lake Ontario to Lewiston, thence to the city by the rail-

⁵⁷ Mann's The Emigrant's Complete Guide to Port Stephens, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand; The Cape of Good Hope and Natal; Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, pp. 61-68 (Canadian section).

⁵⁸ Niles' National Register, Vol. 73, October 2, 1847, pp. 78, 80; Willcox's International Migrations, Vol. I, p. 360.

road. When they arrive here, they encamp any where on the street side, where they can find empty buildings, which they occupy during a few days detention; but their stay is generally short, as they seem to have made up their minds whither they were going before they left home."⁵⁹

The opening of the Welland Canal in 1847 inaugurated a new era in transportation via the St. Lawrence. During the year 1848 the steamer *Free Trader* made several trips from Quebec to Chicago without trans-shipment and Alice Mann believed emigrants proceeding to the western States would find this route "much shorter and cheaper" than any other. During the fifties, however, fewer travelers were recorded by this route, the peak for the decade being 53,180 in 1854.60

Most of the immigrants who docked at the port of New York, steamed up the Hudson to Albany and then floated westward over the Erie Canal. During periods of intense competition the fare up the Hudson was sometimes as low as twenty-five cents. At Albany they were absorbed in the flow of emigrants from New England and New York, who, according to Robert M. Baird, approached Buffalo by stage or wagon on the road from Albany or by the Erie Canal. Early in the thirties six transportation lines were in operation on the canal besides a number of short-run lines and boats belonging to individuals. Immigrants could leave Albany for Buffalo almost hourly. The price of passage in a packet boat was about four cents per mile, and the common or "line" boats charged from two to two and one-half cents per mile. Immigrants generally paid much less.

At Buffalo the immigrant might set out by steamer for Detroit. Cabin passage for this trip cost eight dollars per

⁵⁹ Niles' National Register, Vol. 72, August 14, 1847, p. 370.

⁶⁰ From the Buffalo Courier, quoted in Niles' National Register. Vol. 72, June 26, 1847, p. 263; Mann's The Emigrant's Guide to Port Stephens, etc., p. 68 (Canadian section); Willcox's International Migrations, Vol. I, p. 360.

person while a deck passenger paid only four dollars. During one week in June, 1833, seven steamboats arrived at Detroit from Buffalo with 2610 passengers.⁶¹

Ole Rynning believed the "best route" was by way of New York. "It is doubtless cheaper and quicker to go by way of New Orleans; but it is too warm and unhealthy there in the summer, and it is not advisable to immigrate at any other time of the year to unbroken land without houses. I must also remark that New Orleans is noted for having the worst people in the United States." Rynning declared that most Norwegians secured transportation from New York to Buffalo by steamer and canal boat for from three to four dollars, baggage included. The tariff from Buffalo to Chicago ranged from nine to twelve dollars. 62

The most distant ports on the Great Lakes witnessed this colorful pageant of native Americans and foreigners. At Sault Ste. Marie, Lawrence Oliphant found two hundred strangers — chiefly European and American emigrants — seated upon "piles of boxes and carpet-bags" waiting to board the steamer. "Fragile, delicate-looking ladies, with pink and white complexions, black ringlets, bright dresses, and thin satin shoes, reclined gracefully upon carpet-bags, and presided over pyramids of band-boxes. Square-built German fraus sat astride huge rolls of bedding, displaying stout legs, blue worsted stockings, and hob-nailed shoes. Sallow Yankees, with straw-hats, swallow-tailed coats, and pumps, carried their little all in their pockets; and having nothing to lose and everything to gain in the western world

⁶¹ Raeder's America in the Forties, pp. 1, 2; Baird's View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West, pp. 349-352; Steele's Western Guide Book, and Emigrant's Directory, pp. 5-11; Regan's The Western Wilds of America, pp. 403, 404; Newhall's The British Emigrant's 'Hand Book', p. 96.

⁶² Rynning's True Account of America, pp. 98, 99.

to which they were bound, whittled, smoked, or chewed cheerfully. Hard-featured, bronzed miners, having spent their earnings in the bowling saloons at the Sault, were returning to the bowels of the earth gloomily. There were tourists in various costumes, doing the agreeable to the ladies; and hardy pioneers of the woods, in flannel shirts, and trousers supported by leathern belts, and well supplied with bowies, were telling tough yarns, and astonishing the weak minds of the emigrants, who represented half the countries of Europe."63

Few people except immigrants, according to Ole Raeder, were willing to be packed away in the hold of a Hudson River or Great Lakes steamboat.64 But cramped quarters, declared Captain Marryat, meant little to Irish immigrants. "A single bed will contain one adult and four little ones at one end, and another adult and two half-grown at the other. But they are all packed away so snug and close, and not one venturing to move, there appears to be room for all."

At Dunkirk, New York, Marryat saw the boat put off a lone emigrant family. "I watched them carefully counting over their little property, from the iron tea-kettle to the heavy chest. It was their whole fortune, and invaluable to them; the nest-egg by which, with industry, their children were to rise to affluence. They remained on the wharf as we shoved off, and no wonder they seemed embarrassed and at a loss. There was the baby in the cradle, the young children holding fast to their mother's skirt, while the elder had seated themselves on a log, and watched the departure of the steam-vessel; — the bedding, cooking utensils, &c., all lying in confusion, and all to be housed before night. Weary did they look, and weary indeed they were, and

⁶³ Oliphant's Minnesota and the Far West, pp. 102-104.

⁶⁴ For a vivid description of such a trip, see Raeder's America in the Forties, pp. 3, 4.

most joyful would they be when they at last should gain their resting-place." 65

But to many the Great Lakes proved a final resting place from whose bourne no migrant ever returned. "Not long since", Fredrika Bremer relates, "a vessel of emigrants, mostly Germans, was destroyed by fire on Lake Erie, and hundreds of these poor people found a grave in its waters. Among those who were taken up were seven or eight couples, locked in each other's arms. Death could not divide them."

During the fifties William Ferguson saw a train of German emigrants who had just debarked from a Great Lakes steamer start for the west on the Michigan Central. "Their accommodation is very poor — merely common box freightcars, with the rudest seats fitted up in them. There are no windows, so no light or air, unless they keep the sliding doors in the sides always open. I do not wonder that multitudes died from cholera in these trains last summer, or that they die still in numbers; coming into them, as they often do, from the foul holds of the ships,— disease already upon them." ⁶⁷

Emigrants by the thousands made their way westward over the Pennsylvania Canal. A Philadelphia newspaper noted with no little pride the following "Glorious Accession" to the Stars and Stripes. "Among a number of emigrants arrived at Philadelphia, was an old man in the fifty eighth year of his age, who had with him ten sons, four daughters, five daughters in law, three sons in law, twenty-eight grand children, and two great grand children. He was smoking his pipe leisurely, and seemed happy. They

⁶⁵ See Marryat's *A Diary in America*, Vol. I, pp. 172, 173, Vol. II, pp. 40, 41.

⁶⁶ Bremer's The Homes of the New World, Vol. I, p. 597.

⁶⁷ Ferguson's America: By River and Rail, p. 434.

intend to locate themselves in the western country and till the soil. Success to them."68

From Philadelphia or Baltimore the route lay by railroad to Columbia, Pennsylvania, thence by canal boat up the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers to Hollidaysburg. A portage railroad of inclined planes and stationary engines then crossed the Alleghanies to Johnstown. The journey of almost 400 miles to Pittsburgh was continued in canal boats by way of the Conemaugh and Allegheny rivers. The fare from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh ranged from seven to ten dollars and the time consumed from four to eight days.69 To Iowa over the Pennsylvania Canal went the Dutch to establish Pella.70 By this route also went many of the Swedes to found New Sweden in the Hawkeve State.⁷¹ Let us follow a group of immigrants over this route.

On June 30, 1845, two hundred Swiss landed at Baltimore after a stormy voyage of forty-nine days. A kindly German gave some of the company lodging on the attic floor of his home for three cents a night and charged them 121/2 cents for meals. Competitive bids for transportation to Pittsburgh were secured from three shippers — and the contract was awarded to one, Abraham Cuyk. The Swiss paid twenty francs for each passenger, children four to twelve going at half fare, while those under four went free. A hundred pounds of baggage was allowed each grown person, the residue being carried at the rate of \$1.00 per hundred.

The Swiss enjoyed the novelty of their first railroad trip,

⁶⁸ Niles' National Register, Vol. 72, July 3, 1847, p. 281.

⁶⁹ Ambler's Transportation in the Ohio Valley, p. 147; Hulbert's The Great American Canals (Historic Highways of America, Vol. XIII), pp. 169-215.

⁷⁰ Niles' National Register, Vol. 73, September 18, 1847, p. 48.

⁷¹ Janson's The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 129; Flom's The Early Swedish Immigration to Iowa in The Iowa Journal of HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, pp. 602-604.

traveling with the "speed of the wind" from Baltimore to Columbia. Here they clambered aboard canal boats to enjoy a good night's rest before setting out up the Susquehanna River. "One may imagine", one of the party wrote, "how 30 to 35 human beings were pressed like herrings into a space 12 by 7 feet, many had no room even to sit and were obliged to stand all night as if they were sentenced to the stocks." The Swiss were astounded at the engineering involved in constructing the Pennsylvania Canal. Sometimes their boats were drawn up and let down steep inclines by a wire rope connected with a stationary steam engine. Locomotives or horses were used on the levels and down easy inclines they sailed "fast enough" without assistance. Meals were procured while passing through the locks, the prices depending, apparently, upon the eagerness of the travelers to buy. It required a week to reach Pittsburgh. As they floated into the city the Swiss yodelled a few songs "which attracted hundreds of people to the border of the canal and to the windows of the adjoining houses."

A contract was made with a steamboat captain at Pittsburgh to carry the party to St. Louis. A fare of two dollars was charged for each person over fourteen — children eight to fourteen went at half fare, while those under eight were to be carried free. On the eve of their departure the wife of one of the colonists was "safely delivered in greatest quietness of a boy. Mother and child were well, although they lay in a berth near the boilers where the heat was smothering."

It required six days for the steamboat to reach Cincinnati. Here the Swiss learned that their boat would go no farther and their contract was automatically cancelled. Their resources were almost depleted but they managed to secure a more favorable rate to St. Louis which they reached in five days. From this point they journeyed by

steamboat to Galena, Illinois, and proceeded overland to their new homes in Wisconsin.⁷²

Despite the fact that New Orleans was said to harbor the "worst people in the United States" the southern route had many proponents. "What is the best Landing Port for the West?" queried one prospective immigrant. "New Orleans", replied John Regan, "if you wish the most direct and the cheapest route" to Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. James Peck declared that those who resided within "convenient distance of a seaport" would find it both "safe and economical" to ship their surplus clothing, bedding, books, etc., by way of New Orleans, especially if they steered for the navigable waters of the Mississippi.

John B. Newhall also advocated the southern route for emigrants to Missouri, Iowa, and southern Illinois, since the expense was much less and there were fewer difficulties to contend with than by any other route. Upon his arrival in New Orleans, Newhall pointed out, the immigrant could leave his family on board the ship until he secured steamboat passage up the Mississippi. A little blooded stock could also be carried by way of New Orleans.⁷⁵

Prior to 1845 it required about two weeks for a steamboat to complete the journey from New Orleans to St. Louis. After that year fast boats plied between these ports in from six to eight days. Cabin fare from New Orleans to Saint Louis was \$25 while freight cost around 62½ cents per hundred. Since most immigrants could not afford cabin passage they usually booked as deck passengers. Adults

⁷² For accounts of the Swiss immigration, see Duerst's Diary of One of the Original Colonists of New Glarus, 1845, in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XV, pp. 310-325; Luchsinger's The Swiss Colony of New Glarus in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, pp. 416-418.

⁷³ Regan's The Western Wilds of America, pp. 401-404.

⁷⁴ Peck's A New Guide for Emigrants to the West, p. 365.

⁷⁵ Newhall's The British Emigrant's "Hand Book", pp. 95, 96.

were carried for three or four dollars — children at half fare. Deck passengers had to provide their own food and assist the crew in wooding up.⁷⁶

A group of Hollanders paid \$2.50 in 1846 for passage from New Orleans to St. Louis — children under nine going at half fare. Each person was allowed one hundred pounds of baggage, the remainder being transported at the rate of 25 cents per hundred pounds. It required nine days to make the trip.⁷⁷

When John Regan saw several of his English companions "gnawing a huge piece of beef off a square biscuit" he inquired of one, John Adams, how he had obtained his share. Regan was informed that members of the crew, having more than they could consume, had given it to the immigrants and "were much amused to see with what a good appetite the emigrants demolished the remains of their kit of beef, which they were in the habit of throwing overboard at the end of meals."

Immediately upon his arrival in an American port the immigrant was usually pounced upon by a pack of hotel and transportation runners. The "frauds and outrages" committed by these crafty and unscrupulous "wolves" was sufficient to "shock" even a hardened New York legislative committee. These runners were employed by the month or worked on a commission. As immigration increased, companies developed the plan of hiring foreigners to prey upon their own nationalities. The New York commission found

⁷⁶ Rauschenbusch'e Einige Anweisungen für Auswanderer (Elberfeld, 1848), p. 50; Kargan's St. Louis in früheren Jahren. Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschthum, p. 311; Baird's View of the Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 358, 363, 364; Regan's The Western Wilds of America, pp. 401-404; Williams's Appletons' Southern and Western Travellers' Guide, pp. 136-138.

⁷⁷ Letter of Hendrik Barendregt to Henry P. Scholte, dated St. Louis, December, 1846, and quoted in Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa*, pp. 339-343.

⁷⁸ Regan's The Western Wilds of America, p. 25.

"the German preying upon the German—the Irish upon the Irish—the English upon the English".79

Among the numerous frauds perpetrated that involving the sale of passage tickets was the most common. "The emigrant is shown a neatly printed ticket, with a picture of a steamboat, railroad cars, and canal packet with three horses attached to it, and is given to understand that such a ticket will take him to a given place beyond Albany in a specified manner, and for a price to be agreed upon, and after disposing of the ticket for an exorbitant price, the emigrant is furnished with a steamboat ticket to take him to Albany, where he is to present his passage ticket to some person or company upon which it is drawn, where it is often either protested, or objections taken to the mode of conveyance, and the passenger, instead of going upon a railroad or packet boat, as agreed upon, is thrust into the steerage or hold of a line boat, where he is often known to complain - when the only evidence he can furnish of the fraud committed upon him is to exhibit his ticket with a picture of three horses, when the line boats are only drawn by two."80

Here and there a ray of sunshine brightens this otherwise sordid tale. The efforts of Americans to solve the immigration problem at Ward's Island, New York, was highly praised by Fredrika Bremer. "Thousands who came clad in rags, and bowed down with sickness are brought hither, succored, clothed, fed, and then sent out westward to the states of the Mississippi, in case they have no friends or relations to receive them at a less remote distance. Sepa-

⁷⁹ Mann's The Emigrant's Complete Guide to the United States, pp. 56, 57; Raeder's America in the Forties, pp. 2, 3; The British Mechanic's and Labourer's Hand Book, and True Guide to the United States, pp. 41-46; Kapp's Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York. pp. 62-64.

so Mann's The Emigrant's Complete Guide to the United States, p. 57.

rate buildings have been erected for the sick of typhus fever; for those afflicted with diseases of the eye; for sick children; for the convalescent; for lying-in women. Several new houses were in progress of erection. Upon those verdant, open hills, fanned by the soft sea-breezes, the sick must, if possible, regain health, and the weak become strong. We visited the sick; many hundreds were ill of typhus fever. We visited also the convalescent at their well-supplied dinner-table."

John Murray Forbes believed in applying strict business principles to the immigration problem. Writing to Edward Everett Hale in 1852 Forbes declared: "I have long been of the opinion that the subject of Emigration opened the widest field of this century I know of no elements that offer more inducement to the economist to bring them together than the strong hands and empty stomachs of Europe, and the rich Dollar-an-acre Prairies of the West. California is a cypher in comparison, a mere producer of the measure of value, not of value itself. The railroads which are at last checkering the West in all directions will give a new element of certainty to the transit of the Emigrant . . . Benevolence may point the way and law may and must help to regulate the abuses which have grown up; but when you are dealing with an Emigration of 400,000 people who, I will venture to say, are fleeced \$10 each to bring them from their hovels in the old world to their houses in the new, here is a premium of four millions per annum for the Devil to fight with."82

Unscrupulous runners, railroad accidents, steamboat explosions, poor food, and wretched accommodations — these were but a few of the difficulties facing westward bound

⁸¹ Bremer's The Homes of the New World, Vol. I, pp. 68, 69.

⁸² Pearson's An American Railroad Builder: John Murray Forbes, pp. 67-69.

emigrants. Sickness and disease was also common. Cholera, which had ravaged the United States during the early thirties, also took a heavy toll of lives during the late forties and early fifties. It appeared on lower Mississippi steamboats in December of 1848 and quickly spread to the Upper Mississippi boats. Six Trappist monks, bound from Waterford, Ireland, for Dubuque aboard the steamboat Constitution, died of cholera near St. Louis in 1849. Two hundred and thirty-six cases existed at Quincy that year. Some passengers aboard the West Newton in 1850 saw six dead bodies floating in the river, evidently poor immigrants who had been thrown overboard "to save the trouble of burial and to escape quarantine regulations." 83

A passenger aboard the *Excelsior* in 1851 wrote: "The first intimation I received of the presence of death in our midst was the tolling of the bell & the mooring of the boat at the foot of a high bluff on the Illinois shore. Soon some hands jumped ashore, a grave was speedily dug & as the last rays of the setting sun glided from the waters face, a bird sent up a joyful note over the grave of the infant which an hour before had breathed its last. We proceeded on our way an(d) 'ere two days had passed we had buried five deck passengers. I fear some of them victims of cholera no doubt aggravated or induced by filthiness, exposure, fatigue & improper diet." ***

Little wonder that amid such scenes, Captain Marryat was led to exclaim: "I hate the Mississippi, and as I look down upon its wild and filthy waters, boiling and eddying, and reflect how uncertain is travelling in this region of high-pressure, and disregard for social rights, I cannot

ss Weekly Northwestern (Galena) Gazette, September 7, December 11, 1849, July 9, 16, 1850.

⁸⁴ Memoranda &c. Journey from Baltimore to St. Paul's Minnesota, May 7 to June 20, 1851, a manuscript in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

help feeling a disgust at the idea of perishing in such a vile sewer, to be buried in mud, and perhaps to be rooted out again by some pig-nosed alligator."⁸⁵

The migration into the States of the Upper Mississippi Valley reached its high tide in the years immediately preceding the Panic of 1857. At that time every highway was crowded to capacity. "Still they come!" exclaimed the editor of the Keokuk Whig who had just returned from a trip through the East. "By railways and steamers, the flood of immigration continues pouring into the great West. The lake-shore roads are crowded to their utmost capacity; single trains of fourteen or fifteen cars, all full of men, women, and a large sprinkling of children, are almost daily arriving at Chicago. The Ohio River steamers are crowded in the same way. On Friday last, two steamers brought into St. Louis some 600 passengers; most of whom, being destined for the northwest, have already passed through this place. And 'still they come,' from Pennsylvania, from Ohio, Indiana, and other States, until, by the side of this exodus, that of the Israelites becomes an insignificant item, and the greater migrations of later times are scarcely to be mentioned."86

Most of the passenger trains arrived at Chicago with two locomotives. A Chicago editor records that "twelve thousand passengers arrived from the East, by the Michigan Southern road, during the last week—a city in the short space of six days!" Twenty-five cars left Albany for Buffalo with thirteen hundred immigrants bound for Chicago and the Northwest and another trainload followed within twenty-four hours containing fifteen hundred more. Northern Iowa received a heavy influx of immigrants. In 1850 Lansing had but one log cabin but by 1854 it boasted

⁸⁵ Marryat's A Diary in America, Vol. II, p. 143.

⁸⁶ Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 60.

four hundred inhabitants. The population in Allamakee and Winneshiek counties was growing rapidly also. Decorah was unable to accommodate those wanting to enter lands, beds upon the floor were at a premium, while good prices were paid for an opportunity to "lean against sign posts or hang on a hook."87

Every road leading to the Northwest was thronged with immigrants in 1856, nine thousand passing through Chicago in a single day. Every boat bound upstream was crowded. The Galena left Dunleith [East Dubuque] with over eight hundred passengers aboard, most of whom were destined for Minnesota. The City Belle arrived at the Winona levee with members of the Minnesota Company. These were warmly cheered by the citizens of Winona before setting off into the interior for some unknown settlement.88

When Nathan H. Parker took passage on the steamboat Northern Belle he found five hundred persons already aboard. According to Parker "State-rooms were entirely out of the question, and bunks upon the floor or seats at the table were at a premium. Standing at the lower end of the cabin, and gazing upon the hundreds of persons whose beds covered almost every foot of the cabin floor, I intuitively exclaimed, 'This is going West.' I mused upon the various situations and climates and nations these people had left: the misfortunes that had befallen some, and the fortunes that had fallen to others, alike impelling them to seek the 'land of promise - the great West,' each individual having different plans and anticipations for the future, and each seeming to delight in being one of this hurly-burly, motley throng."89

⁸⁷ Daily Express and Herald (Dubuque), November 29, 1855; Minnesota (St. Paul) Pioneer, May 27, 30, 1854; The Daily (Chicago) Tribune, June 2, 1854; Parker's Iowa as It Is in 1857, p. 60.

⁸⁸ Winona Republican, May 6, 1856.

⁸⁹ Parker's The Minnesota Handbook for 1856-7, pp. 9, 10.

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Filled with the hope and enthusiasm of the frontier the more sordid incidents of the migrations westward to the Mississippi were soon forgotten. Life was constantly before them, rich lands beckoned on every hand; their experiences were simply refining fires. Today the sons of these immigrants rule the destinies of a dozen Commonwealths of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA IOWA CITY IOWA

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Identification of the Mascoutins, by Truman Michelson, has been reprinted from the American Anthropologist for April-June, 1934.

Standards and Subjects of Historical Society Work, by John E. Iglehart, is one of the papers in the Indiana History Bulletin for May.

A History of The Filson Club, 1884 - May 15 - 1934, all under various subheads, by Otto A. Rothert, makes up The Filson Club History Quarterly for July.

The Pennsylvania Argus; A Chapter in Westmoreland Political Journalism, by Summerfield Baldwin; and Indian War on the Upper Ohio, 1779–1782, by Randolph C. Downes, are the two articles in The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine for June.

The Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association and The Graduate Seminar in History, by Charles E. Chapman, are two of the articles in the June number of The Pacific Historical Review.

The July issue of Americana includes the following articles: The O-ge-che-Dah, or Head-men Dance of the Bois Fort Indians, by Albert B. Reagan; Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth — "The Knight Without Fear and Without Reproach", by Charles A. Ingraham; and Farm and Home Life A Century Ago, by John Nelson.

A Century of Prohibition (among the Indians), by Grant Foreman; Cynthia Ann Parker, by Paul I. Wellman; The Chouteaus; and The Journal of John Lowery Brown, of the Cherokee Nation en Route to California in 1850, transcribed by Muriel H. Wright, are some of the articles and papers in the Chronicles of Oklahoma for June.

The Pioneer Wisconsin Family Physician, by Dr. J. V. Stevens; continuations of James R. Doolittle, by James L. Sellers, and Memoirs of William George Bruce; a document entitled, Diary of Thomas Woodward while Crossing the Plains to California in 1850; and an editorial comment on Turner's America make up the June number of The Wisconsin Magazine of History.

The Authors of "Pioneer Families of Missouri", by W. W. Elwang; Missouri Slavery, 1861-1865, by Earl J. Nelson; The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860), Pt. II, by Carle Brooks Spotts; and The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri, Pt. II, by Ruby Johnson Swartzlow, are the contributions in The Missouri Historical Review for July.

The Wisconsin Tercentenary, by Lorraine C. Brown; The Restoration of An Effigy Mound, by Ruth J. Shuttleworth; The Dream Dance Drum, by Gene Sturtevant; Stone Adzes, by Charles E. Brown; The Destruction of Mounds In Certain Southern States, by L. S. Buttles; and A Pot From Panama, by Albert H. Sanford, are the articles in The Wisconsin Archeologist for July.

Early Recollections, by Anne L. Hunt of St. Louis, furnishes the material for Number 6 of the series, Glimpses of the Past, published by the Missouri Historical Society. Number 7 contains excerpts from an autobiography written by James Cartwright Essex, and Number 8 includes A Night View of Our Courthouse and The Story of an Old Clerk (Edmund P. Walsh).

History of the Underground Railroad in Mechanicsburg, by Ralph M. Watts; The Bicentennial of Major General Arthur St. Clair, by Theresa Vinton Pierce Krull; Ohio's Squatter Governor: William Hogland of Hoglandstown, by Randolph C. Downes; and The Report of the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society are the articles in the July issue of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.

Colonel A. W. Gilbert, Citizen-Soldier of Cincinnati, edited by William E. Smith and Ophia D. Smith, has recently appeared as one of the Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of

Ohio. The autobiographical sketch includes a description of a trip by Mr. Gilbert in 1841 which included a tour of Iowa Territory. Keokuk, Burlington, Davenport, Iowa City, and Dubuque are among the places visited.

The Fox River Norwegian Settlement, by Carlton C. Qualey; The Seven Wonders of Egypt, by William Nelson Moyers; The Poverty of the Illinois French, by John Francis McDermott; A Bibliography of Peoria Imprints, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; and In Memoriam Georgia L. Osborne, by Margaret C. Norton, are the articles and papers in the Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society for July. Bureau County's Red Covered Bridge, by Mrs. Ina Shugart Hoover, and Farming in Illinois in 1837, by John McCullough, are shorter papers.

The July number of The Louisiana Historical Quarterly contains the following articles and papers: The Taënsa Indians (I), by Robert Dabney Calhoun; The Civil War Diary of Willie Micajah Barrow (I), by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and Edwin Adams Davis; Documents Concerning the Crozat Regime in Louisiana, 1712-1717 (IV), by Albert Godfrey Sanders; New Orleans and the War of 1812 (VI), by R. McC. B. Adams; and The Interregnum in Louisiana in 1861 (VI), by Lance C. Kendall.

The June number of Minnesota History contains the following articles: Around a Geologic Clock in Minnesota, by Louis H. Powell; Some Aspects of Minnesota Prehistory, by Ralph D. Brown; Radisson's Two Western Journeys, by Hjalmar R. Holand; and Furnishing the Frontier Home, by Evadene A. Burris. In addition, Grace Lee Nute presents Some Sources for Northwest History — Minnesota County Archives and Arthur J. Larsen tells of Early Dakota Newspapers. Under Notes and Documents, John A. Bardon tells of Early Logging Methods.

Volume XVII of the Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee contains an interesting treatise on Tobacco, Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Indians, by George A. West. Part one contains the text of the monograph and Part two the plates. This is a most exhaustive treatment of the use of tobacco—and the

tubes and pipes used by the Indians for smoking it. The illustrations include several maps and pictures of several hundred pipes of various kinds.

The July number of The American Historical Review contains three articles: Sieges and Customs of War at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century, by John W. Wright; The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley, by Raphael N. Hamilton; and The Negotiation of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1870, by Rising Lake Morrow. Unprinted Public Archives of the Post-Colonial Period: their Availability, by A. R. Newsome; Zephaniah Swift and the Folwell Edition of the Laws of the United States, by Clarence E. Carter, are two short contributions. Under Documents are An Unpublished Letter of John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, contributed by Wallace K. Ferguson; and American Privateers and the West India Trade, 1776-1777, contributed by Asa E. Martin.

Indiana in the Douglas-Buchanan Contest of 1856; The Influence of Riley's Narrative Upon Abraham Lincoln, by R. Gerald McMurtry; Medical Education in Indiana, by L. G. Zerfas; The Story of John Williams, Colored, by Lillie D. Trueblood; The Indiana Boyhood of the Poet of the Sierras, by Glen E. Veach; Colonel John Jackson, by H. S. K. Bartholomew; Song of the Portage, by Mary Byerley; Indiana Historical Society, by Christopher B. Coleman; and Social Studies in the High School Today, by Oka Stanton Flick, are the articles and papers in the June issue of the Indiana Magazine of History. Two documents are included — A Sketch of the Leach Family, by Elias Leach, and The Civil War Diary of William M. Macy.

In February, 1934, the Arkansas Historical Society, in coöperation with the State History Commission, began the publication of a new State history journal — the Arkansas Historical Review. The first number contains three articles — Repudiation or Thumbing the Nose — Which?, by Dallas T. Herndon; The Conway-Crittenden Duel, by Edwin Marshall Williams; and Letters of David O. Dodd, by Dallas T. Herndon. The second number, June, 1934, contains De Soto in Arkansas, by John R. Fordyce; A Choice Morsel of Slander

Put to the Test, Some High Points in the Story of a Useful Career, and An Outstanding Contribution to the History of Arkansas, all three by Dallas T. Herndon; and an account of the Arkansas State flag.

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A history of the First Baptist Church of Des Moines will be a feature of a book to be published in 1934, commemorating the centenary of the Baptist Church in Iowa.

The Northeastern Iowa Press Association has issued a travel guide for northeastern Iowa under the heading Little Switzerland of America. A map of the region is included.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church Luzerne, Iowa, by F. Starke, has been published in pamphlet form in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the church.

History of the Iowa State Board of Health, by Frederick J. Swift, is an article of historical interest in The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society for June and July. The August number contains Pioneer Physicians of Page County, by J. F. Aldrich.

Requirements for Economic Plans Affecting Agriculture, by John A. Hopkins, Jr., and Who Pays for the Hog Reduction Program?, by Geoffrey Shepherd, are two additional studies in the series on Prospects for Agricultural Recovery, published by Iowa State College in the Bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Station.

The July issue of the Annals of Iowa includes the following articles and papers: Judge Orlando C. Howe, Somewhat of His Life and Letters, by F. I. Herriott; An Original Study of Mesquakie (Fox) Life; William Salter's Letters to Mary Ann Mackintire, 1845-1846, edited by Philip D. Jordan; John Ross Miller, by C. C. Stiles; and Indian Mounds of Southeastern Iowa, by E. R. Harlan.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,

Welcome Home, Hal! (Ladies' Home Journal, September, 1934.)

Anderson, Maxwell,

Playwright Afield (Theatre Arts Monthly, June, 1934).

Beer, Thomas,

Haircuts on Friday (The Saturday Evening Post, June 9, 1934).

Playboy (The American Mercury, June, 1934).

Bentley, Ronald C.,

The Destination of Iowa's Commercial Corn (Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, No. 318). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1934.

Betts, George Herbert,

Religious Ideas of Children (Christian Century, May 9, 30, 1934).

Blackmar, Beatrice, (Mrs. Bruce Gould) (Joint author)

The Build-up (The Saturday Evening Post, August 25, 1934).

Bliven, Bruce,

No Santa Claus (The New Republic, May 16, 1934).

Bolton, Frederick Elmer,

Function of the Church College in Present-Day Education (School and Society, June 2, 1934).

Briggs, John Ely,

The Flood of 1851 (The Palimpsest, June, 1934).

Cook, Elizabeth, (Mrs. Louis H. Cook)

Wedding Bells and Bills (The Delineator, June, 1934).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Love Is a Constant Thing (poem) (Good Housekeeping, June, 1934).

Daniel, Hawthorne,

Lost Professor. New York: Coward-McCann. 1934.

Davies, George Reginald, (Joint author)

Depression and Recovery. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1934.

Dutton, Charles Judson,

Black Fog. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1934.

Edmonds, T. J.,

Plan to Increase Understanding of the Value of Scientific Medicine (American Journal of Public Health, June, 1934).

Engle, Paul,

American Song; A Book of Poems. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Doran. 1934.

Ferber, Edna,

They Brought Their Women. New York: Grosset. 1934.

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

Grey River (poem) (Scholastic, May 19, 1934).

Gabrielson, Ira Noel,

Gray Landscape, Another Flower Paradise of America (House and Garden, June, 1934).

Gould, Bruce, (Joint author)

The Build-up (The Saturday Evening Post, August 25, 1934).

Haefner, Marie,

Called to Iowa (The Palimpsest, June, 1934).

Hall, James Norman,

From MED to MUM (Continued) (The Atlantic Monthly, March-June, 1934).

Harlan, E. R.,

Indian Mounds of Southeastern Iowa (Annals of Iowa, July, 1934).

Harrington, Harold D.,

The Woody Plants of Iowa in Winter Condition (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XVI, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1934.

Herriott, Frank I.,

Judge Orlando C. Howe, Somewhat of His Life and Letters (Annals of Iowa, July, 1934).

Hoover, Herbert Clark,

The Challenge of Liberty. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934.

Hopkins, John A., Jr.,

Requirements for Economic Plans Affecting Agriculture (Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, No. 316).

Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1934.

Horack, Frank E., Jr., (Joint author)

After the Nebbia Case: The Administration of Price Regulation (University of Cincinnati Law Review, May, 1934).

Houghton, Henry Spencer,

Challenge of the Future to Medical Education (Science, June 1, 1934).

Hueston, Ethel Powelson, (Mrs. E. J. Best)

Beauty for Sale. Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill. 1934.

Hunt, C. C.,

The Rival Grand Lodges of England (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A., F. & A. M., June, 1934).

Kantor, MacKinlay,

As It Was Written (Collier's, June 2, 1934).

Kresensky, Raymond,

Dillinger Puts on a Show (The New Republic, June 6, 1934).

Ladd, Mason,

Admission of Evidence Against Estates of Deceased Persons (Iowa Law Review, May, 1934).

Lechlitner, Ruth, (Mrs. Paul Corey)

Spring in Arlington (poem) (Saturday Review of Literature, June 2, 1934).

Merriam, John C.,

Conservation and Evolution in a Changing Social Program (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, May, 1934).

Mischler, Raymond J.,

After the Mortgage Moratorium — What? (Iowa Law Review, May, 1934).

Perkins, Rollin M.,

The Doctrine of Coercion (Iowa Law Review, May, 1934).

Porter, Kirk H.,

Surveys of State Administrative Organization: Iowa and Wyoming (The American Political Science Review, June, 1934).

Russell, Charles Edward,

Bare Hands and Stone Walls. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1933.

Seashore, Carl Emil, (Joint author)

Place of Phonophotography in the Study of Primitive Music (Science, May 25, 1934).

Seashore, Harold, (Joint author)

Place of Phonophotography in the Study of Primitive Music (Science, May 25, 1934).

Shaw, Albert,

Recovery Policies in the Second Year (Review of Reviews, June, 1934).

Shepherd, Geoffrey,

Who Pays for the Hog Reduction Program? (Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, No. 317). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1934.

Shorey, Paul,

Lay Sermon (Atlantic Monthly, June, 1934).

Shultz, Gladys Denny,

Come On Out and Play (Better Homes and Gardens, June, 1934).

Shuttleworth, Frank K.,

Dollar and Real Incomes of Teachers, 1889-90 to 1933-34 (School and Society, May 26, 1934).

Smith, Ada Gray,

Indians at Gray's Ford (The Palimpsest, June, 1934).

Stiles, C. C.,

John Ross Miller (Annals of Iowa, July, 1934).

Turner, Ralph E.,

James Silk Buckingham, 1786-1855 (Whittlesey House Publications). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1934.

Wallace, Henry A.,

New Frontiers. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc. 1934.

The Rules of the Game (Survey Graphic, July, 1934).

Wallis, James Harold,

The Woman He Chose. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

1934.

Wilson, Ben Hur,

Mineralogy Club Program for Use in the "Secondary Schools"

(Rocks and Minerals, September, December, 1933, January,
February, March, April, May, and June, 1934).

Should Mineralogy Be Taught in the Public Schools?

(Rocks and Minerals, September, 1933).

Yoder, Dale, (Joint author)

**Depression and Recovery.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1934.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The railroad wreck at Packard, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, June 5, 1934.

Turning the first furrow in Jones County, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, June 7, 1934.

Hat Grove was landmark in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, June 7, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Judge Lawrence De Graff, in the Des Moines Register, June 8, 1934.

- Industries in Washington from 1860 to 1890, by Helen Ryan, in the Washington Journal, June 9, 1934.
- Christian Church has been active in Iowa almost a century, in the Oskaloosa Herald, June 13, 1934.
- Kalbach Lumber Company celebrates seventieth anniversary, in the Oskaloosa Herald, June 13, 1934.
- The beginnings of Waterloo, in the Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934.
- The Charles Mullan log cabin was built in 1846, in the Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934.
- St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Luzerne seventy-five years old on June 24th, in the *Benton County* (Newhall) *News*, June 14, 1934.
- Mrs. G. W. Hanna tells of arrival of first settlers in Black Hawk County on July 19, 1845, in the *Waterloo Courier*, June 14, 1934.
- Black Hawk County had a county seat fight in 1855, in the Waterloo Courier, June 14, 1934.
- The drouth of 1894, in the West Bend Journal, June 14, 1934.
- The Iowa State Bystander, Iowa's only Negro newspaper, appeared first in 1894, by Everett Wadsworth, in the Iowa State Bystander (Des Moines), June 15, 1934.
- John Brown house at Springdale is crumbling away, in the Des Moines Tribune, June 16, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Henry Baker, cousin of Jonathan W. Parker, an early mayor of Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat*, June 17, 1934.
- Primitive and modern cultures mix at the Indian reservation at Tama, by Donald Grant, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 17, 1934.
- Charles B. Thompson, Mormon leader, came to Moorhead in 1853, by Willard Robbins, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 17, the *Onawa Sentinel*, June 21, and the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, July 26, 1934.

- Sketch of the life of George Redington, pioneer of Benton County, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, June 20, 1934.
- Some bits of Hamburg history, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, June 21, 1934.
- Mastodon tooth found near Neola, in the Neola Gazette-Reporter, June 21, 1934.
- The history of the Shell Rock Lutheran Church, in the Northwood Anchor and Index, June 21, 1934.
- Highlights in the history of Cascade, in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, June 24, 1934.
- The State Historical Society of Iowa, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, June 26, 1934.
- Exodus of Indians from Cerro Gordo County, by G. Oliver Sanderson, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, June 26, 1934.
- Dr. G. W. Franklin owns grinding burr of old Eureka water mill, in the *Jefferson Bee*, June 26, 1934.
- G. F. Rinehart tells of Grinnell cyclone, in the Newton News, June 27, 1934.
- Rainmaking in Iowa in 1894, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, June 27, 1934.
- Loren D. Hart says there were buffalo in Iowa, in the Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle, June 27, and the Sioux City Journal, July 29, 1934.
- Henry Hutton was first druggist at Madrid, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register*, June 28, 1934.
- Buffalo remains found in Iowa, in the *Danbury Review*, June 28, the *Jefferson Bee*, July 31, and the *Jefferson Herald*, August 2, 1934.
- Mrs. A. D. Shepard receives pay for cattle owned by her father which were killed by Indians in 1869, in the *Hamburg Reporter*, June 28, 1934.

- The history of Cascade, for one hundred years, in the Cascade Pioneer, June 28, July 19, 1934.
- Limestone shaft marks camp of Mormons at Mt. Pisgah, in the Boone News-Republican and the Marshalltown Times-Republican, June 29, 1934.
- More about early Westfield, by W. G. Ray, in the *Grinnell Herald*, June 29, 1934.
- Early boats on Clear Lake, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, June 29, 1934.
- Bicycling in the nineties, by Henrietta Hull, in the Washington Journal, June 30, 1934.
- Le Claire is one hundred years old, by Dorothy Boege, in the *Daven*port Times, June 30, 1934.
- First post office in Spencer was opened sixty-six years ago, by Louise Knight, in the Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle, July 3, 1934.
- Early days in St. Charles, by J. D. Peffley, in the St. Charles News, July 5, 12, 1934.
- Marble from Roman hills used in Marsh house on Julien Avenue, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, July 5, 1934.
- Mrs. Rachel M. Rider, now ninety years old, saw first train in Fairfield, in the *Cantril Register*, July 5, 1934.
- The story of the "Queen", on Spirit Lake, in the Spirit Lake Beacon.
 July 5, the Webster City Journal, July 11, and the Remsen
 Bell, July 26, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Edward McDonald, in the Coon Rapids Enterprise, July 6, 1934.
- Fourth of July celebrations in Washington, 1860-1865, by Kenneth Le Moine, in the Washington Journal, July 7, 1934.
- Stern Abstract Company has done business for fifty years in Logan, in the *Logan Herald*, July 12, 1934.

- Judge Orlando C. Howe and his letters, by F. I. Herriott, in the Spirit Lake Beacon, July 12, 1934.
- The tornado at Rockford and early day business houses, in the *Rockford Record*, July 11, 1934.
- W. L. Hunter tells of last raft on the Mississippi River in 1915, in the Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette, July 11, 1934.
- Early history of Clear Lake, in the Clear Lake Mirror, July 12, 19, 1934.
- The Lyons and Iowa Central Railroad was once known as the "Calico Road", in the Clinton Herald, July 12, 1934.
- First things in Harrison County, in the Logan Observer, July 12, 1934.
- Reverend Peter Jacobs of Shenandoah tells of pioneers of southwest Iowa, in the Glenwood Opinion-Tribune, July 12, 1934.
- Isaac Kalbach told early history of Oskaloosa, in the Oskaloosa Herald, July 12, 1934.
- The Stars and Stripes was published at Butler Center in 1862, in the Marshalltown Times-Republican, July 13, 1934.
- Mastodon's tooth found near Neola by John B. Newland, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil and the Boone News-Republican, July 13, 1934.
- Mars Hill Church, near Floris, has been in use since before the Civil War, in the Ottumwa Courier, July 14, 1934.
- The Washington woolen mill, by Hubert Turner, in the Washington Journal, July 14, 1934.
- Andrew De Mowbray built house in 1840, in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, July 15, 1934.
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- Sketch of the life of Geo. A. Jewett, in the Des Moines Register and the Des Moines Tribune, July 16, 1934.
- Oil station occupies site of first school in Creston, by T. G. Hamilton, in the Creston News Advertiser, July 16, 1934.
- Council Bluffs has historic sites, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, July 17, 1934.
- The Webster County Historical Museum has a large collection of relics, in the Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle, July 18, 1934.
- Plank roads and ferries in Henry County, in the Mt. Pleasant Free Press, July 19, 1934.
- Josiah White donated White's Manual Labor Institute, in the Hardin County (Eldora) Ledger, July 19, 1934.
- Events in the early history of Creston, by T. G. Hamilton, in the Creston News Advertiser, July 19, 1934.
- The monument to Ansel Briggs, in the Ottumwa Courier, July 20, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Brigadier General J. D. Barrette, in the *Daven*port Democrat, July 24, 1934.
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- Will L. Clark, historian of Harrison County, died at Woodbine on July 22nd, in the Webster City Freeman-Journal, July 30, 1934.
- Early schools in Creston, by T. G. Hamilton, in the Creston News Advertiser, July 30, 1934.

- Historic Fort Atkinson to be restored by CCC, in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, July 31, the Marshalltown Times-Republican, August 3, and the Des Moines Register, August 12, 1934.
- Indian mounds in Allamakee County, in the Waukon Republican & Standard, August 1, 1934.
- Pioneer days in northwestern Iowa, by Adolph Witt, in the Hawarden Independent, August 2, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Eli Hutchinson, in the Leon Journal-Reporter, August 2, 1934.
- J. H. Platt writes of Montezuma's water supply, in the *Montezuma Republican*, August 2, 1934.
- Dr. L. J. Leech, of West Branch, was honored by community celebration, in the West Branch Times, August 2, 1934.
- St. Martin's Catholic Church at Cascade is one hundred years old, in the *Anamosa Journal*, August 2, 1934.
- Indian mounds in Delaware County, in the Manchester Press, August 2, 1934.
- Luman Stone, founder of Massena, died in Missouri, in the Fontanelle Observer, August 2, 1934.
- Problems of excavating the mounds told by E. R. Harlan, in the Centerville Iowegian, August 4, 1934.
- Le Claire's house at Davenport, by Frederick Polley, in the Des Moines Register, August 5, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Millard Fillmore Rohrer, in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, August 6, 1934.
- Lou Buenneke of Maynard has a large collection of curios, by Robert Griffith, in the *Oelwein Register*, August 6, 1934
- Joseph L. Ralls was born in 1850 on site of Marshalltown, in the Marshalltown Times-Republican, August 6, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Oley Nelson, in the Nevada Journal and Representative, August 7, and the Madrid Register-News, August 9, 1934.

- Historic newspapers owned by James Crago of Cedar Rapids, by Edward F. Dose, in the Cedar Rapids Gazette, August 7, 1934.
- Captain Fred A. Bill makes corrections in the story of the last Mississippi River raft, in the *Allamakee Journal & Lansing Mirror*, August 8, 1934.
- Washington County Copperheads, by Stanley Dayton, in the Washington Democrat-Independent, August 8, 1934.
- Old record books of Allamakee County, in the Waukon Republican & Standard, August 8, 1934.
- John C. Fremont explored the Des Moines River, in the Madrid Register-News, August 9, 1934.
- E. J. Mentzer owns plat of Marion published in 1860 by George Granger, in the Marion Sentinel, August 9, 1934.
- Turner house near Hawkeye was station on Underground Railroad. in the Sumner Gazette, August 9, 1934.
- Pioneering in Harlan, by Wade Kittell, in the Harlan Republican, August 9, 1934.
- Mrs. Ella MacKenzie of Moulton has collection of antiques, in the Ottumwa Courier, August 9, 1934.
- Prehistoric remains are found at Hawarden, in the Hawarden Independent, August 9, 1934.
- The Spirit House at Keokuk was built by Dr. Margrave, in the Keokuk Citizen, August 10, 1934.
- Arrowhead museum at Rudd, in the Charles City Press. August 10, 1934.
- Box containing souvenirs of 1876, stored by J. R. Dosh, was opened by his son, R. H. Dosh, in the *Stuart Herald*, August 10, 1934.
- The lynching of John Kephart in Wapello County, in the Ottumwa Courier, August 11, 1934.
- Rochester was once a trade center, in the Oskaloosa Herald, August 11, 1934.

- The Old Capitol, by Frederick Polley, in the Des Moines Register, August 12, 1934.
- Benjamin Wharton Cook will observe hundredth birthday, in the *Monroe County* (Albia) News, August 13, 1934.
- Bellevue is one hundred years old, in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald, August 12, the Clinton Herald, August 13, the Bellevue Herald, August 14, and the Bellevue Leader, August 16, 1934.
- Frontier fighters, in the Iowa City Press-Citizen, August 14, 1934.
- I. C. Davidson tells of trip on first train from Keokuk to St. Louis, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, August 15, 1934.
- The significance of the Indian ceremonial at Tama, by Harvey Ingham, in the Des Moines Register, August 15, 17, 1934.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The forty-first annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held at Muskogee on April 18 and 19, 1934. An historical tour through the Cherokee country and one to Fort Gibson were features of the meeting.

The original oil paintings, seven in number, made by Henry Lewis on his trip down the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis in 1848, have been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by the T. B. Walker Foundation. The pictures include Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien and Fort Armstrong on Rock Island.

TOWA

The Howard County Historical Society held a monthly meeting at Cresco on June 18, 1934. W. H. Tillson gave a talk on the early history of Howard Township.

W. C. Otto, county engineer of Sac County, is promoting the collection and preservation of local materials relating to the Indians and the early settlers.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes of Mt. Vernon, research associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was the speaker at a special meeting of the Waukon Kiwanis Club on July thirteenth. His subject was the excavation of pre-historic mounds in Allamakee County.

Work on the restoration of old Fort Atkinson in Winneshiek County is progressing under the direction of Nels Fardahl, architectural engineer connected with the CCC camp at Decorah. The plans were approved by the United States War Department. Fort Atkinson was built in 1840 and the site is now a State Park.

The Fremont County Historical Society was organized at Sidney on June 25, 1934. Peter Jacobs of Shenandoah was elected president of the new organization and Fred W. Hill was made secretary. Vice

presidents will be named from the various parts of the county. Among the plans is a series of maps showing old trails, ferries, and other places of historic interest.

Among the projects now being considered by the Iowa State Planning Board is the proposed restoration of the old house formerly the home of William Maxson, where John Brown's men spent the winter of 1857-1858. The building was erected in 1839 and is of interest architecturally as well as historically. Mr. J. P. Fitzsimmons, architect for the State Planning Board, is in charge of the plans.

Road markers pointing the way to the burial ground of the three hundred Mormons who died on the trail across Iowa in 1846 have recently been purchased by the Nancy McKay Harsh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and placed on Highways 34 and 25 by CWA workers under the direction of the county engineer. The cemetery at Mt. Pisgah was marked in 1888 by a tall shaft erected by the Utah Latter Day Saints.

The people interested in the history of Pottawattamie County have organized a county historical society. Its articles of incorporation were filed on July 7th. The following officers were chosen: George S. Wright, president; H. K. Peterson, vice president; J. R. Perkins, historian; Loran A. Clark, secretary-treasurer; C. H. Galloway, editor; and O. J. Pruitt, curator. A campaign for members; marking the graves of early settlers; the issue of a quarterly journal; and the collection of historical relics are among the activities planned.

Through the efforts of the Northeastern Iowa National Park Association and the individual work of Ellison Orr and I. E. Beeman of Waukon, a deed has been secured for almost three acres of land on the Fish farm seven miles north of Lansing. There are some thirty-two Indian mounds on this area. It will be offered to the Federal government for a national monument site and if not accepted will probably be presented to the Iowa Board of Conservation for a State Park. A similar site near the mouth of Turkey River was recently purchased by some public-spirited citizens for the same purpose.

A committee on scenic and historic features of the State and local

areas has been appointed by the Iowa State Planning Board. Arthur E. Rapp is chairman of this committee which hopes to collect information about the various scenic and historic sites and to assist in their preservation wherever that is necessary and practicable. A survey of historic sites in Iowa was made during August and September by Russell Paul of Ames, representing the State Planning Board, and Dr. J. A. Swisher, of the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The Iowa State Planning Board is sponsoring the exploration of a number of mounds in Allamakee County along the Upper Iowa or Oneota River. The work is under the direction of Dr. Charles R. Keyes, of Cornell College, assisted by Mr. Ellison Orr of Waukon and Mr. Fred Orr, also of Waukon. Dr. Keyes, who is also a research associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has been engaged for a number of years in making an archaeological survey of Iowa. Mr. Ellison Orr recently donated to the Historical Society a large and valuable collection of copper, stone, and flint articles taken from the region along the Upper Iowa. The excavation work employs about twenty men and is financed jointly by State and Federal funds.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Mr. Marvin H. Dey was reëlected President of The State Historical Society of Iowa and Mr. Lee Nagle was reëlected Treasurer at the meeting of the Board of Curators held at Iowa City on July 31, 1934.

A feathered cape, made by the daughter of Poweshiek, chief of one band of the Sauk and Fox Indians, has been presented to the State Historical Society by Mrs. A. H. Ford, a grandaughter of Dr. Henry Murray to whom the cape was presented by Chief Poweshiek in return for medical services.

The State Historical Society has been assisting in locating and marking historic sites in Iowa. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the Society, has had several conferences with representatives of the Iowa State Planning Board and Dr. J. A. Swisher spent almost three weeks on a tour of the State with Mr. Russell Paul of the Planning Board.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. B. H. Graeber, Guttenberg, Iowa; Mr. George E. Holcomb, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Estelle Penn, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Leslie Archerd, Clarion, Iowa; Mr. Robert O. Bickel, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. A. A. Elderkin, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Mrs. C. S. Hutchins, Burlington, Iowa. The following persons have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Mr. W. J. Allen, Laurens, Iowa; Dr. Kermit Christensen, St. Louis, Mo.; Mr. Wm. M. Deacon, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. T. Henry Foster, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. W. D. Glasgow, Mechanicsville, Iowa; Mr. J. L. Hanrahan, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. H. M. Havner, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. Sidney Johnson, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. Frank A. O'Connor, Dubuque, Iowa; and Mr. N. R. Whitney, Glendale, Ohio.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Mrs. W. Z. Long of Spencer has been named State Historian of the Iowa Woman's Relief Corps.

A movement is on foot in Mahaska County to revive Mahaska Day and hold historical memorials each May 12th.

The Iowa Band cane, carried in turn by the founders of Grinnell College, has now passed into the possession of the College.

The Harvest Home Festival at Lamoni was held on August 16-18, 1934. Lieutenant Governor N. G. Kraschel spoke on the seventeenth and former Governor Dan Turner was the speaker the following day.

An unusual celebration was held at West Branch on the evening of August 3, 1934. The occasion was the eighty-eighth birthday of Dr. L. J. Leech, recently elected Commander of the Iowa G. A. R.

A combination American Legion convention and centennial celebration was held at Bellevue on August 15th and 16th. Addresses by Frank Miles and Governor Clyde L. Herring were features of the program.

Plans are under way for the establishment of a public park in Preparation Canyon, near Onawa. This was the site of the settlement made by a Mormon faction in 1853 under the leadership of Charles B. Thompson. Thompson was later driven out of the community.

The Viola Township (Osceola County) picnic was held at Worthington on June 24th. Isaac Milton was elected president for the ensuing year, Martin Olson, Frank Mitchell, and William Downs, vice presidents; and Mrs. Leonora Lyle, secretary-treasurer. A brief history of Viola Township was read by Mrs. T. S. Libby.

The Iowa-Des Moines Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has made provision for the erection of a marker on the grave of Reverend H. Ruble, the first Methodist minister to be buried in Iowa. He died in Burlington in 1836 and is buried in the old city cemetery at Mt. Pleasant.

Cascade celebrated its hundredth anniversary June 28 to July 4, 1934. The program included an historical pageant, and addresses by Governor Clyde L. Herring and others. *The Cascade Pioneer* published a special historical edition on June 28th and a booklet, prepared by Howard C. Baldwin and Helen G. Baldwin, was also issued in honor of the event.

Professor L. B. Schmidt, head of the History and Government Department at Iowa State College, was awarded an honorary doctor of letters degree at Cornell College on June 4, 1934. Professor M. Mortensen, head of the Dairy Industry at Iowa State College, was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the Kansas State College at Manhattan, Kansas, on May 31st.

The Church of Christ in Iowa is planning the celebration of its centennial in 1936. At the seventy-ninth annual convention of the church representatives, held at Oskaloosa on June 12th, Reverend James T. Nichols of Des Moines gave an address on "Our Coming Iowa Centennial". The first congregation was organized at the Lost Creek Church in 1836. The first State meeting was held in 1846—the year Iowa was admitted into the Union.

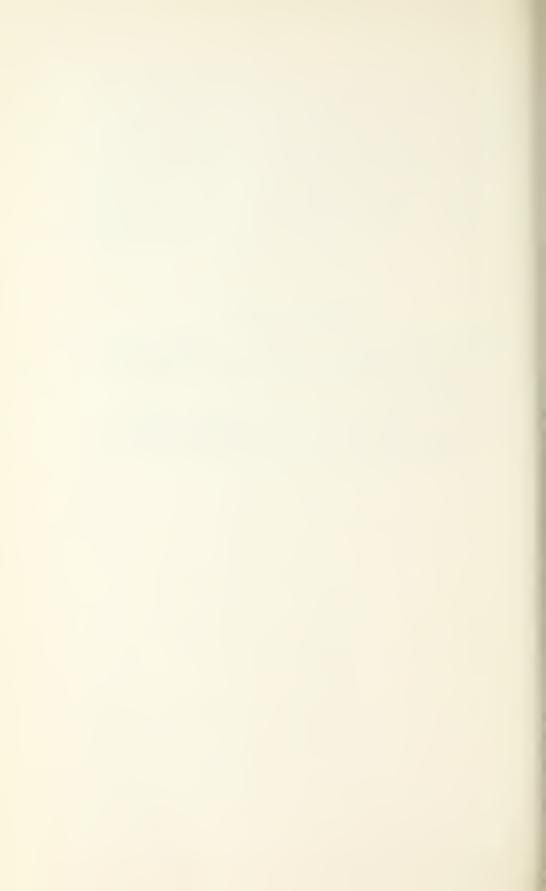
The annual Tri-County Old Settlers Association picnic was held at Tabor on July 4, 1934. The counties included are Mills, Pottawattamie, and Fremont. An address on "Pioneers", by Reverend Peter Jacobs of Shenandoah, was a feature of the program. Mention was made of the collection of prehistoric articles numbering over 5000 which belongs to W. L. Bass. The officers chosen for the ensuing year are: F. R. Chantry, president; J. W. McNulty, secretary; and M. F. Rohrer, of Council Bluffs, historian. The vice presidents are Frank Choate from Mills County, Nick O'Brien from Pottawattamie County, and Vernon Johnson from Fremont County.

The sixteenth annual session of the American School of Wild Life Protection was held at McGregor from July 30 to August 11, 1934. August second was "History Day", and the meetings for that day

were held at Prairie du Chien. In addition to the various talks on science, the program included the following historical addresses: "The History of Man", by Dr. George F. Kay; "An Archaeological Project on the Upper Iowa River", "Progress in Saving the Iowa Mounds", and "An Early Upper Mississippi Indian Culture", all by Dr. Charles R. Keyes; "Iowa Historic and Beautiful" and "The Romance of the Prairie du Chien-McGregor Region", both by Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, of the State Historical Society of Iowa; and "Military Forts", by P. L. Scanlan.

CONTRIBUTORS

- FRANK EDWARD HORACK, Professor of Political Science at the State University of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for October, 1915, p. 615, and January, 1921, p. 156.)
- WILLIAM J. PETERSEN, Research Associate of The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History AND Politics, January, 1930, p. 173, and January, 1933, p. 160).



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